

DEC 6 1948

VOL. LXIX, 4

WHOLE No. 276

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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OCTOBER, 1948

BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

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The American Journal of Philology is open to original communications in all departments of philology, and especially in the field of Greek and Roman studies. It is published quarterly. Four numbers constitute a volume, one volume each year. Subscription price, \$5.00 a year, payable in advance (foreign postage 25 cents extra); single numbers, \$1.50 each.

Articles intended for publication in the Journal, books for review, and other editorial communications should be addressed to the editor, Henry T. Rowell; proof should be returned to the secretary, Evelyn H. Clift, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

Contributors are entitled to receive twenty-five copies of their respective contributions free of charge. Additional copies will be supplied at cost.

Subscriptions, remittances, and business communications should be sent to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, Baltimore 18, Md.

The contents of the American Journal of Philology are indexed regularly in the International Index to Periodicals.

Entered as second-class matter October 16, 1911, at the postoffice at Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized on July 3, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXIX, 4

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THE *BIRDS* OF ARISTOPHANES — A SOURCE BOOK FOR OLD BELIEFS.*

The *Birds* is important not so much for the views which Aristophanes himself expresses with reference to old beliefs, but rather as a source book for legends about birds and gods which were current in Athens in the late fifth century B. C. Jane Harrison, writing at a time when the analogy of the newly discovered Minoan bird and pillar monuments afforded some reason to suppose that the play contained direct evidence for the existence of bird cults in prehistoric Greece, said that "the *Birds* of Aristophanes seen in this new religious light, would well repay detailed examination";¹ and although few scholars would be prepared to subscribe to the sanguine views of forty years ago, a restatement of those views in the light of the ancient evidence is not without profit in a study of Greek religion. It is natural, as Nilsson has pointed out,² that augury should play a considerable part in a play about birds, but references to the science were

* It is necessary to acknowledge here the debt which I owe to those scholars without whose advice and criticisms this article would hardly have seen the light. In particular I would like to express my gratitude to Professor E. R. Dodds who read the article in its original form; to Professor J. D. Beazley who gave me the inestimable benefit of his detailed criticisms, and supplied me with much additional and some hitherto unpublished evidence; to Professor H. J. Rose and Mr. W. F. Jackson Knight, who encouraged me to publish it, and to Mr. T. J. Dunbabin whose kindnesses are too many to enumerate. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that I am alone responsible for the opinions expressed and for any errors or omissions which may still exist.

¹ *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, II, p. 163.

² *Geschichte der G. Religion.*, p. 740.

certain to be appreciated by the Athenian citizen of the fifth century B. C., who, although he was in some sense the most rational of men, was also in his daily life religious to an extent bordering on superstition and remained so down to the latest times. St. Paul remarked upon Athenian *δεισιδαιμονία* more than four centuries later,³ while Aelian tells how a man was tried and executed for slaying one of the birds which were sacred to Asclepius.⁴ Xenophon was a good representative of the ordinary educated Athenian of his day, and he is most religious.⁵ Let a soldier but sneeze, and the event is hailed as an omen.⁶ Let an eagle but appear, and he is prepared to modify his actions in accordance with the directions of a soothsayer.⁷ Hence there is no reason to suppose that the poet was exaggerating when he stated that almost any event in the life of an ordinary Athenian citizen was liable to be construed as being ominous, to be hailed as a "bird."⁸

The subject matter of the play was not of course unique in Attic drama. Magnes, we are informed, wrote a play called "The Birds,"⁹ and indeed animal titles were of frequent occurrence in Old Comedy.¹⁰ What is more striking is the remarkable acquaintance with the habits of the various species of birds which the play reveals. Rogers, in his introduction, lists some eighty different species, most of which can be identified;¹¹ while those which take a specific part in the action of the play are accurately cast, e. g. in the description of the building of the walls of Nephelokokkygia, each species is allotted its appropriate task,¹² while types of men are accurately compared with birds possessing similar characteristics.¹³ Cranes carry the foundation stones because, according to the legend, they swallowed stones as ballast; corn-crakes acted as masons because they knew how to "rasp";

³ Acts, XVII, 22.

⁴ *Vera Historia*, V, 17.

⁵ Cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, p. 747.

⁶ *Anabasis*, III, 2, 9.

⁷ *Anabasis*, VI, 1, 23.

⁸ *Birds*, 719 f.

⁹ Suidas, s. v. *Μάγνης*.

¹⁰ Cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, pp. 244 f.

¹¹ *The Birds*, Introduction, pp. lxxxiii f.

¹² *Birds*, 1133 f.

¹³ 760 f.

storks helped to build the "storkade," water-fowl brought water, geese used their webbed feet to shovel with, while the swallows supplied cement. From all of which it would be reasonable to suppose that the audience was well able to appreciate those nice distinctions between the various species, without which much of the effect of the play would be lost. On the other hand, in attempting to estimate the value of any one piece of evidence which the play may seem to contain, e. g. in support of the view that bird cults formerly existed in Greece, it is important to realize that the ordinary Athenians of the fifth century B. C. were not gifted with an historical imagination or a scientific curiosity where religion was concerned, so that legends or sayings current among them had no deeper significance for *them*. They may, however, and in fact do, have a deeper significance for us, but even so it is necessary to proceed with special caution in the case of a poet whose main characteristic is *εὐτραπεία* and evidence from whom is not infrequently open to the objection that he may not always mean what he seems to say.

The main problems raised by the *Birds*, although often inter-related, will be discussed, for convenience sake, under the following sub-headings.

- I. The problem of Zeus and the Woodpecker.
- II. The problem of Zeus and the Cuckoo.
- III. Legends associated with the Cock and the Kite.
- IV. Bird-tipped sceptres and bird-crowned deities.
- V. The wind egg.

I. *The problem of Zeus and the Woodpecker.*

Peisthetaerus' claim that the birds are older than the gods, the audacity of which moved even the birds themselves—

ἀρχαιότεροι πρότεροί τε Κρόνον καὶ Τιτάνων ἐγένεσθε
καὶ γῆς. ΧΟ. καὶ γῆς; . . .¹⁴

is based upon stories with which contemporary Greeks were presumably well acquainted. The poet gives an example of the type of story which he had in mind, viz. Aesop's fable of how the crested lark got its crest,¹⁵ and follows this up with the line

¹⁴ *Birds*, 468 f.

¹⁵ *Birds*, 471 f.

which has perhaps been more discussed than any other in the play.

οὐκ ἀποδώσει ταχέως ὁ Ζεὺς τὸ σκῆπτρον τῷ δρυκολάπτῃ.¹⁶

A. B. Cook quoted it to support his theory of the existence of ritual oak-kings in prehistoric Greece, who were changed at death into woodpeckers.¹⁷ "The recurrence of oak and axe and woodpecker in the Tereus-Polytechnus myth cannot be accidental. I infer that Tereus and Polytechnus were oak-kings, armed with the weapon of and transformed into the birds of an oak-Zeus. When Euelpides in Aristophanes *av.* 480 spoke of Zeus as 'soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Woodpecker' it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine folk-belief."¹⁸

If the evidence which he produces in support of this view were at all sound, it would go far to establish the influence of Minoan-Mycenaean beliefs in bird epiphanies throughout a wide area in Greece. But unfortunately most of the evidence is open to the gravest objections, as will appear.

One form of the Tereus-Polytechnus myth is at least as old as Homer, but in this version Itylus, not Itys, is said to have been the son of Zeus, not Tereus, and the only transformation mentioned is that of his mother, the daughter of Pandareus, not Pandion, into a nightingale.¹⁹ The legend was apparently known to Hesiod²⁰ and Sappho,²¹ is referred to by Thucydides,²² and was a favourite with the three tragedians,²³ but the forms sometimes differ in detail, e. g. Aeschylus describes the nightingale as "pursued by a hawk"²⁴—whereas Aristophanes, in the *Birds*, refers to Sophocles' version wherein Tereus was transformed into a hoopoe, the most popular form of the legend.²⁵ A considerable fragment of this latter play has survived through the medium of Aristotle,²⁶ who referred it, seemingly in error, to Aeschylus.

¹⁶ *Birds*, 480.

¹⁷ See "Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak," *C. R.*, XVII-XVIII (1903-1904); cf. *Zeus*, II, pp. 690 f.: The Axes of Penelope.

¹⁸ *C. R.*, XVIII (1904), p. 81.

¹⁹ *Od.*, XIX, 58 f.

²⁰ *Op.*, 568.

²¹ *Frag.* 88.

²² II, 29, 3.

²³ E. g., Aesch., *Supp.*, 60 f., *Ag.*, 1442; Soph., *El.*, 107, 148; Eur., *Rhesus*, 545, frag. 773, 23.

²⁴ *Supp.*, 62.

²⁵ *Frag.* 581 Pearson.

²⁶ *Hist. An.*, IX, 49, 633A 19.

However, Book IX of the *Historia Animalium* is not usually considered to be by Aristotle himself. This fragment refers in an obscure phrase to the twy-form of Tereus, who wore a hawk's plumage in his youth, but changed later into an hoopoe.²⁷

We may therefore conclude that the transformation of Tereus into either a hawk or a hoopoe were the only alternatives known in classical times.

The evidence of the mythographers is of less value, because, except in the case of Antoninus Liberalis, we are ignorant of the sources upon which they drew. Both Ovid²⁸ and Apollodorus²⁹ tell how Tereus was transformed into an hoopoe. The latter, however, mentions how he pursued the women with an axe "*ἀρπάσας πέλεκυν*," which Cook considered possessed a ritual significance,³⁰ and which Schröder thought was an oriental feature.³¹ The story as told by Conon,³² Libanius,³³ Achilles Tatius,³⁴ Nonnus,³⁵ and Eustathius³⁶ preserves no outstanding features. Hyginus, however, follows the Aeschylean form of the legend, telling how Tereus was transformed into a hawk,³⁷ and includes the story of Dryas, the brother of Tereus, whom the latter slew because he feared that he was plotting against his son. This version has been considered to be more significant on the grounds that the name Dryas seems to be connected with *δρῦς*, an oak,³⁸ but as against this there is no mention of a woodpecker, which, on Cook's own theory, one would have expected Tereus to have become.

Antoninus Liberalis preserves an interesting doublet to the Tereus-Procne myth in the story of Polytechnus and Aedon.³⁹

²⁷ *δύο γὰρ οὖν μορφὰς φανεί
παιδὸς τε χαλτοῦ νηδύος μίᾱς ἀπο* (5-6).

²⁸ *Met.*, VI, 433-674.

²⁹ III, 14, 8.

³⁰ *C. R.*, XVIII (1904), pp. 80 f.

³¹ *Hermes*, LXI (1926), pp. 424 f.

³² Narr. 31 (*F. Gr. H.*, 26 F 1).

³³ Narr. 12, p. 1103.

³⁴ 5, 5.

³⁵ IV, 320 f.

³⁶ *Opusc.*, p. 1875.

³⁷ *Fab.*, 45.

³⁸ A. B. Cook, *C. R.*, XVIII (1904), pp. 81 f.

³⁹ XI. The earliest representation of this legend in art is a painted metope at Thermon which dates from the third quarter of the 7th century. Cf. Payne, *B. S. A.*, XXVII (1925-1926), p. 124.

The story corresponds in general with the more usual forms of the Tereus myth, but in the end Polytechnus is transformed into a woodpecker—*πελεκᾶν*—ὅτι Ἡφαίστος αὐτῷ πέλεκυν ἔδωκεν τεκταίνοντι.⁴⁰

Legends preserved by Antoninus are of special interest to students of mythology, because we know that one of his main sources was Boeus' Ὀρνιθογονία,⁴¹ a mysterious work, which was extant in Alexandrian times—it was apparently known to Philochorus,⁴² and may have contained material dating from a very much earlier era. The work was apparently attributed to an ancient priestess of Apollo at Delphi, called Βοῶ—but somehow in later times the name became changed into the masculine form βοῖος.⁴³ But even Antoninus makes no mention of woodpeckers except in the strange story entitled “the thieves”⁴⁴—which like that of Polytechnus derives from Boeus. This story tells how Laius, Celeus, Cerberus, and Aegolius visited the cave in Crete where Zeus was born, in order to steal the honey upon which the infant god had been nurtured. Zeus frustrated their design by turning them all into birds. Now the interesting member of these four for our purpose is Celeus—for *κελεύς* is “the green woodpecker.” Certain features of the story, e.g. the boiling of the afterbirth and the ritualistic clashing of bronze are so arresting that one is bound to consider the possibility of their having derived from an ancient source. Unfortunately, however, there appears to be no reason why special emphasis should be placed upon the part played by Celeus in the story, and so we seem to be as far from proving the existence of a woodpecker cult as ever.

⁴⁰ Rogers (*Birds*, Introduction, pp. lxxvi f.) argued that *πελεκᾶς* and *πελεκᾶν* were two forms of the same word and that both meant “pelican,” but as Professor Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson says (*Glossary*², s. v. *πελεκᾶς*) pelicans do not make a noise with their beaks which is the point of *Birds*, 1156 f.: ἦν δ' ὁ κτύπος αὐτῶν πελεκώντων.

⁴¹ The difficult problem as to whether Antoninus and Athenaeus derived direct from Boeus was carefully considered by G. Knaack in a thesis published in 1880 (*Analecta Alexandrino-Romana*. Dissertio inauguralis Philologica. Cap. 1: De Boei Ornithogonia), and again by E. Oder in a thesis published in 1886 (*De Antonino Liberali*). But neither scholar was able to settle the matter beyond all reasonable doubt.

⁴² Βοῖος δ' ἐν Ὀρνιθογονίᾳ, ἢ Βοῶ, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος, *apud* Athen. IX, 2, 393E; *F. G. H.*, I, frag. 207.

⁴³ Cf. G. Knaack, *apud* Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Boio.

⁴⁴ Φῶρες, xix.

The next piece of evidence produced by Cook in support of his theory is the curious version, preserved by Suidas, of the inscription said to have been observed by Pythagoras upon the tomb of Zeus in Crete.

Pythagoras, according to Porphyry, was reputed to have visited the tomb of Zeus in Crete, and to have inscribed it with the words—

ὥδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.⁴⁵

Saint Chrysostom gives a slightly different version—

ἐνταῦθα Ζὰν κείται, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν,⁴⁶

while the *Palatine Anthology* gives

ὥδε μέγας κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.⁴⁷

Suidas, however, preserves the interesting variation—

ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.⁴⁸

Now the history of the phrase Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς is as follows. It is preserved in a late epitome of the sixth book of Diodorus' history,⁴⁹ where Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς is said to have been the brother of Ninus, son of Belus, the first king of Assyria. He ruled Italy, was the father of Faunus, and was buried at Zeus' bidding, in Crete. A temple was raised to him which could still be seen, inscribed with the words—

ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Πῆκος ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι.

Elsewhere the phrase only appears in the works of Byzantine writers such as John Malalas, who, in a rationalisation of the

⁴⁵ *Vit. Pyth.*, 17. A. B. Cook (*Zeus*, II, pp. 340 f.) considered that "Zan" was an old title of Zeus, related to Italian "Janus"; but the evidence is inconclusive. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 342, draws attention to an interesting variant in the margin of the *Palatine Anthology*, ὥδε μέγας κείται βοῦς, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν, which suggests that the title possessed mystical affinities. Certainly Euelpides employs the word with mock heroic power in line 570. Cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, note 35 to ch. IV, p. 146. Bronze statues of Zeus were, according to Pausanias, called Ζᾶνες, V, 21, 2.

⁴⁶ *Hom. III. in Titum, ad init.* LXII, col. 676 (Migne).

⁴⁷ VII, 746.

⁴⁸ *S. v. Πῆκος*. For the variant Πῆκος, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 694. For other references, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 341 f.

⁴⁹ VI, 5.

story of Leda and the Swan says that "Κύκνος" was descended ἐκ τοῦ πίκου Διός.⁵⁰ Nicetas describes Zeus in one passage as ἡπιος πίκος.⁵¹ Further references are found in John Malalas,⁵² in the *Chronicon Paschale*,⁵³ and the *Chronica Minora*,⁵⁴ but none of them reveal precisely who Πίκος was. It seems to be quite certain that he was never a woodpecker, for the Greek for "woodpecker" is δρυοκολάπτης, πελεκᾶς, or κελεός never πίκος. He can only be a Graecised form of Italian Picus, the story of whose metamorphosis is told so picturesquely by Virgil.⁵⁵

The association of Picus with Mars probably dated back to early times, for a reference to "Piquier Martier" occurs in an Umbrian inscription.⁵⁶ Again Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions an oracle of Mars at Tiora Matiene, where a woodpecker mounted on a stump performed the functions of the doves at Dodona.⁵⁷

The story, however, is given at second hand, and we know nothing of the ritual referred to. On the whole it would seem reasonable to suppose that the association of the bird with Mars dated back to a time when the latter was purely an agricultural deity,⁵⁸ and the woodpecker a prophet of rain.⁵⁹ In which case it would seem that Picus belonged to the realm of folklore rather than of cult. The woodpecker appears on the François tomb attached to a boy's wrist by a thread, but it is uncertain whether the scene is connected with augury.⁶⁰ Such then is the nature of the evidence upon which A. B. Cook based his arguments for the former existence of oak-kings, and woodpecker cults. J. Rendel Harris, employing the comparative method, went even further. He regarded the woodpecker as a European representative of the "thunderbird," which is associated with American Indian beliefs, and primitive mythology elsewhere.⁶¹ The

⁵⁰ Frag. 20, *F. H. G.*, IV, 549.

⁵¹ *Epithet. Deor.* (*Meletem.*, I, 18).

⁵² I, 19; II, 28, 34. Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, XCVII, cols. 85, 95, 104.

⁵³ 36-38; 44. Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, XCII, cols. 143 f.

⁵⁴ *Excerpta Barbari* in Frick, *Chronica Minora*, 243, 23.

⁵⁵ *Aen.*, VII, 189.

⁵⁶ Tables of Iguvium. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, I, pp. 421 f.; II, p. 645.

⁵⁷ *Ant. Rom.*, I, 14.

⁵⁸ C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, pp. 109 f.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jane Harrison, *Themis*, p. 100.

⁶⁰ P. D. Goidanich, *S. E.*, IX, 107 f.

⁶¹ *Boanerges*, Ch. IV.

"thunderbird" lived in the oak, and was associated with Zeus. Important cult centres grew up about certain oaks where the "thunderbird" was frequently observed, and these gave rise to towns, e. g. Keleae or Picenum—bearing woodpecker names,⁶² which were mystically associated with the cult of the heavenly twins. A good example of Rendel Harris' method of argument is his analysis of Antoninus' story of the Φῶρες.⁶³ This was, in origin, according to him, a mystic attempt to steal wild honey from an oak-tree. Now woodpeckers are inordinately fond of bees' larvae, and an attempt to get at the honey would quickly attract the attention of any woodpecker which happened to be in the neighbourhood. This often resulted in a contest between the woodpecker and the thieves for the contents of the hive. Such a contest then became mythologised into the story of the Cretan cave, with Laius and his companions taking the part of the rustics, and Zeus that of the woodpeckers, the spirits of the oak. This analysis does not attempt to explain the interesting features of the boiling blood and the ritual rattle, and fails to show why such a trivial incident, or succession of trivial incidents, should give rise to so strange a story. His attempt to explain the prominence given to honey in ancient mythology by the fact that woodpeckers were fond of *larvae* is even more ludicrous.

The best modern analysis of the myths associated with Zeus and the woodpecker was given by W. R. Halliday in the *Classical Review*.⁶⁴ Halliday pointed out the weaknesses in the kind of speculations mentioned above, and proves conclusively that the origin of the phrase Πικρος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς was due to the Euhemerism which became rife in the second century B. C. A legend which told of a mortal Zeus was naturally popular among the Christian fathers. "The association, therefore, is that of Picus, not of a woodpecker, with Zeus, and it takes place not in Crete, but in the study of the historians."

What then can be safely concluded with reference to Aristophanes' line?

A. Aristophanes refers to some legend about Zeus and a woodpecker.

B. The myths of Tereus and Polytechnus tell of the trans-

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 322 f.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 357 f.

⁶⁴ XXXVI (1922), p. 110.

formation of a king into a hawk, a hoopoe, or a woodpecker. No ritual significance can be attached to these transformations.⁶⁵

C. The story of the transformation of Celeus into a woodpecker appears to be mere mythologising.

D. The phrase Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς preserved by Suidas appears to be a product of Euhemerism, and can have no bearing on Aristophanes' line.

E. Specious conclusions have been drawn owing to the unscientific habit of placing alongside of one another pieces of evidence taken from totally unrelated sources, and sources which are often separated by many centuries of time.

F. The reference is probably to some folk myth or the poet may be simply playing upon words as the scholiast suggests—ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ δρυὶς τοῦ Διὸς ἐστίν, ἔπαιζε παρὰ τὴν δρυὶν ἣ ἐστίν ἱερὰ τοῦ Διὸς.⁶⁶

II. *The problem of Zeus and the Cuckoo.*

Not only the woodpecker was king before Zeus, but the cuckoo too, according to Peisthetaerus; and when they heard its call, the Phoenicians set about gathering the harvest. Hence, says Euelpides, arose the rustic phrase—"κόκκυ· ψωλοὶ πεδίονδε."⁶⁷ This is all that Aristophanes says about the cuckoo, but it has been considered by certain scholars⁶⁸ that we have here, and in the title of the city of the birds itself, an oblique reference to the cuckoo cult of Zeus and Hera, which, according to Pausanias, formerly existed upon mounts Pron and Thornax (Kokkygion), which are situated in Argolis.⁶⁹

All that is known about this supposed cuckoo cult is not very much.

Pausanias says that sanctuaries sacred to the two deities still survived in his day upon the tops of the mountains, but he gives no indications of their probable age; while a ruined temple still

⁶⁵ Cf. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, p. 69.

⁶⁶ *Ad* 480.

⁶⁷ *Birds*, 507.

⁶⁸ E. g., A. B. Cook in *Zeus*, III, pp. 44 f., and Jane Harrison, *Themis*, p. 179.

⁶⁹ II, 36, 2. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 1043 f.; A. Klinz, "ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ," pp. 99 f.; F. Robert, *C. R. A. I.*, 1941, pp. 293 f.

stood at the foot of Kokkygion. He mentions that Thornax, "took the name of Cuckoo Mountain, because, they say, the transformation of Zeus into a cuckoo was fabled to have here taken place."⁷⁰

The scholiast on Theocritus, XV, 64, where Praxinoa says

πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ' Ἥραν—

gives the legend in detail. Zeus, wishing to take advantage of Hera, transformed himself into a cuckoo, and lay in wait for her in the neighbourhood of Mount Thornax. He next caused a storm to brew, and when the goddess took pity upon his bedraggled appearance, accomplished his purpose. This is why the image in the Argive Heraeum bears a cuckoo-tipped sceptre.⁷¹ Pausanias explains the cuckoo-tipped sceptre by the same legend, but hastens to add, "This and similar stories of the gods I record, though I do not accept them."⁷²

All this is typical Hellenistic mythography; but the question is whether there is any evidence to show that the legends which had grown up in the neighbourhood of the two mountains had any basis in primitive beliefs. Now although we are ignorant of the age of the sanctuaries which Pausanias saw on the mountains, he does say that the statue of Hera was the work of Polyclitus;⁷³ which would mean that the cuckoo-tipped sceptre dated back to about 423 B. C. The birds on the sima of the Argive Heraeum are probably cuckoos,⁷⁴ but Hera, like Athena, was associated with birds of various species. She is accompanied by a falcon on an Attic red-figured lekythos, now in Providence, R. I.,⁷⁵ which is probably by the Brygos painter, while a bronze dove was found in her temenos at Perachora.⁷⁶ In Roman times Juno was associated with the peacock.⁷⁷

The cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring, has always been associated with husbandry, and Euelpides' comment would

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, trans. by Frazer.

⁷¹ *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*, ed. C. Wendel.

⁷² II, 17, 4, trans. by Frazer.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *A. J. A.*, VIII (1893), Pl. XI; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 169; H. Möbius, *A. M.*, LII (1927), Pl. 21, 5, 6; pp. 182-3.

⁷⁵ *A. J. A.*, XXXII (1928), pp. 53-54, figs. 18-19; *C. V. A.*, Prov. R. I., XIX, 1.

⁷⁶ Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 133, Pl. 41.

⁷⁷ Cf. Steier in Pauly-Wissowa, XIX, p. 1419, s. v. Pfau.

appear to glance at this fact.⁷⁸ But it is also true that Aristophanes is at pains to associate the bird especially with Egypt and Phoenicia,⁷⁹ and not with his homeland, so that whatever the reason for the cuckoo sceptre at the Heraeum there seems no reason to suppose that the poet had the Argive cult in mind when he wrote this passage. A. B. Cook thought otherwise, considering that the second half of the name Nephelokokkygia, and the introduction of Basileia, whom he identifies with Hera, represented a deliberate attempt on the part of the poet to curry favour with the state which at that time held the balance of power between Athens and Sparta.⁸⁰ Jane Harrison too considered that Nephelokokkygia was intended to remind the audience of the Argive mount Kokkygion, and the legends associated with it. "Turning finally to literature, it is, I am convinced, on no mere fancy of the comedian but on the actual foundation of ancient bird-cultus, that Cloud-cuckoo-town, Nephelokokkygia, is built. Did not Zeus himself woo Hera in the form of a cuckoo? The Sky-Father in bird form woos the Earth-Maiden. He wooed her on the mountain Kokkygion near Sparta, and, for that, Pausanias says, was a cuckoo perched on Hera's sceptre."⁸¹ But the weakness of this argument is that there is nothing to show that the story of Zeus and the cuckoo is not an aetiological myth invented perhaps to explain certain features associated with the Argive cult of Hera. On the other hand the association of Hera with the cuckoo may be a legacy from Mycenaean times.

All that can be safely concluded from the ancient evidence with reference to cuckoo cults is that:

A. Legends were apparently extant in Aristophanes' time to the effect that the "cuckoo" had once ruled in Egypt and Phoenicia. The precise nature of these legends we do not know.

B. The cuckoo was associated in ancient times with the coming of Spring, and with husbandry.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hesiod, *Op.*, 486.

⁷⁹ *Birds*, 504. Rogers considered that the reference to the circumcised peoples of Egypt and Phoenicia was merely intended to lead up to Euelpides' comment. This view is supported by the poet's deliberate ignoring of the fact that the season of the cuckoo's call in Greece would hardly coincide with harvest time in Egypt or Greece.

⁸⁰ *Zeus*, III, p. 63.

⁸¹ *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, II, pp. 163 f.

C. Sanctuaries, of unknown antiquity, dedicated to Zeus and Hera existed on Mounts Kokkygion and Pron in Pausanias' time. Mount Kokkygion was formerly known as Mount Thornax, and was associated with a myth, probably of a late and aetiological nature, which told how Zeus first visited Hera in the form of a cuckoo.

D. The association of Hera and the cuckoo may possess Minoan-Mycenaean affinities, but there is no evidence to show that Zeus was ever associated with the bird.

E. There is no evidence to show that Aristophanes had the Argive cult of Hera in mind when he wrote the passage which we have been considering.

III. *Legends associated with the Cock and Kite.*

The Cock.

More lines are devoted by Aristophanes to the cock, as an example of a bird which formerly ruled as king, than to any other species. But this fact is hardly remarkable in itself, for the cock would be most familiar to the audience, and its claim would be likely to excite most interest.

Aristophanes says (1) that it formerly ruled the Persians, and so gained the title of "the Persian bird,"⁸² (2) that it still wears a comb, the symbol of royalty, upon its head,⁸³ (3) that the former respect in which it was held is shown by the way in which men still obey its summons, although this sometimes leads to unfortunate results.⁸⁴

The cock first appears in Greek art in the seventh century B. C.⁸⁵ and is first mentioned in literature by Theognis.⁸⁶ It is not mentioned by Homer or Hesiod, so it seems probable that it first arrived in Greece in the eighth century B. C. It was introduced from India into Persia at an early period, for, as Cumont has shown, it was sacred in primitive Iranian religion.⁸⁷ It did not reach Western Asia or Africa until much later, for it is not

⁸² *Birds*, 484, cf. 707, and Cratinus *apud* Athen., IX, 374D.

⁸³ *Birds*, 487.

⁸⁴ *Birds*, 488.

⁸⁵ Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Fig. 21, p. 74.

⁸⁶ Frag. 864.

⁸⁷ *C. R. A. I.*, 1942.

mentioned in the Old Testament, or in the older Egyptian records.⁸⁸

The cock appears to have been associated with the sun, as the herald of day, from early times,⁸⁹ and when poetical and esoteric speculation identified the latter with Apollo,⁹⁰ though never completely, the association seems to have passed to him. It seems more probable that Socrates paid a cock to Asclepius⁹¹ because it was the right price, rather than because it was especially associated with that god. Certainly a cock appears to have been a current offering to Demeter and Persephone in the first half of the fifth century B. C.⁹²

Later the cock became associated with mystic cults, and notably with Mithraism.⁹³ It is also found in a Spartan relief of the third century B. C. in association with the Dioscuri.⁹⁴ J. Rendel Harris based arguments upon this later evidence, and upon the reference in the *Birds*, to show that the cock, like the woodpecker, had been originally worshipped as a "thunderbird." "It was," he claimed, "discharging (in Persia) the same function of thunder-hood, and original royalty as the woodpecker was doing in Greece."⁹⁵ But, as we have seen, there is no evidence to show that the woodpecker was ever doing anything of the kind, whatever the cock may have been doing in Persia. All that can be deduced from Aristophanes' statement is:

A. That he intended to make a joke, basing the cock's claim to kingship in Persia upon the fact that its comb resembled the stiff crest of the Great King's tiara.⁹⁶

B. It is possible that he was aware of the important part played by the cock in Iranian ritual, but there is no evidence of this in the play.

⁸⁸ Cf. Frazer, note to Pausanias, IX, 22, 4.

⁸⁹ Cf. A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁰ Cf. Euripides, frag. 781, 11 (Nauck); Plutarch, *Mor.*, 400 C.

⁹¹ Plato, *Phaedo*, 118 A.

⁹² Cf. a sacrificial scene on a Locrian relief now in the Museum at Thebes; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, Pl. 1, fig. 2, facing p. 178.

⁹³ Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra*, I, 210, 212.

⁹⁴ Dressel und Milchöfer, *Die Antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung*, Pl. XXII.

⁹⁵ *Boanerges*, pp. 39 f.

⁹⁶ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, II, 5, 23.

The Kite.

The prominence given by Aristophanes to the kite is without parallel in Greek literature, and may perhaps be significant. The references in the play are as follows:

1. Peisthetaerus astounds the chorus by claiming that the kite once ruled the Greeks.⁹⁷

2. The reason which he gives in support of this claim is that men are accustomed to bow before kites; a statement which Euelpides quickly confirms.⁹⁸

3. The kite tells of the coming of Spring, and the season to begin sheep-shearing.⁹⁹

4. He bids the priest pray first to Bird-Hestia, the guardian, and to kite—the "thieving-watcher"—*τῷ ἐστιούχῳ*.¹⁰⁰

5. Later in the same scene he points out that a single kite could carry off the priest's whole sacrifice.¹⁰¹

6. He explains to Heracles that, under the new system, the kite would be charged to steal on behalf of the gods.¹⁰²

Now the kite's reputation in ancient times was no better than it is today. Theognis emphasises its ruthless qualities,¹⁰³ and mentions the aerial dexterity, which is reflected in its character.¹⁰⁴ In Plautus its name is a synonym for men of grasping nature.¹⁰⁵

Peisthetaerus' claim that the bird formerly ruled the Greeks is amusing purely because the bird was so disreputable, and that is why the poet is at pains to emphasise its more sordid characteristics. It is bracketed with Hestia in the litany, because it is a "watcher" too, a watcher for an opportunity to steal.

On the other hand there seems no reason to doubt that the mention of the custom of bowing before the kite—*καὶ κατέδειξέν γ' οὗτος πρῶτος βασιλεύων προκυλινδεῖσθαι τοῖς ἰκτίνοις*—is based upon a genuine piece of folklore. No other reference to the custom is known, but Euelpides' comment seems to prove that it was familiar.¹⁰⁶

The Scholiast says that poor men were accustomed to greet the bird in this way, because its appearance heralded the return

⁹⁷ *Birds*, 499.

¹⁰⁰ *Birds*, 865 f.

⁹⁸ *Birds*, 500 f.

¹⁰¹ *Birds*, 891 f.

⁹⁹ *Birds*, 713.

¹⁰² *Birds*, 1624.

¹⁰³ Frag. 1302, *φεύγεις ἰκτίνου σχέτλιον ἦθος ἔχων*.

¹⁰⁴ Frag. 1261, *ἰκτίνου ἀγχιστρόφου ἦθος*.

¹⁰⁵ *Poen.*, 5, 5, 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Birds*, 501 f.

of Spring.¹⁰⁷ Certainly the sudden arrival of a flock of such conspicuous birds in the city streets would have excited annual comment.

But another view of the emphasis which the poet places upon the kite's activities is possible, if there be any truth in the suggestion put forward by Nilsson that the presence of birds of prey at a sacrifice had come to be regarded in pre-Homeric times as an indication of the presence likewise of the deity to whom the sacrifice was being made.¹⁰⁸ The kite "pounces down and bears off the worth of two fat lambs to the god," precisely at it may have been regarded as doing in Mycenaean times.¹⁰⁹

Similarly when Euelpides enquires why the gods wear birds on their heads, Peisthetaerus replies "in order that they may be able to forestall Zeus at the sacrifice."¹¹⁰ In other words the gods were regarded as employing birds of prey in order to gather tit-bits for them from the altar. Here the theory is put forward as a comic suggestion by Peisthetaerus, but it seems to be based upon the view that birds were regarded at one time as emissaries of the gods. A valid objection to this hypothesis is that the gods were supposed to enjoy the savour (*κνῖσα*) of a sacrifice, and did not partake of the actual offering. Again, in later times the presence of kites at a sacrifice was considered to be an evil omen.¹¹¹ But we do not know what the view of the Mycenaean celebrants was, and some such theory, as that proposed above, seems necessary if we are to provide an explanation for the bird metamorphoses with which we are familiar in Homer. At any rate this, or something like it, appears to have been Nilsson's view.¹¹²

The following conclusions may then be drawn from Aristophanes' references to the kite:

The kite is said to have ruled Greece—

¹⁰⁷ οἱ γὰρ ἰκτῖνοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἔαρ ἐσήμενον· οἱ πένητες οὖν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκυλινδοῦντο καὶ προσεκύονον αὐτούς.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁹ *Birds*, 1624-1625.

¹¹⁰ *Birds*, 519.

¹¹¹ Cf. L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere*, pp. 94 f.

¹¹² "The gods are from the beginning localized to their customary haunts and the places of their cult. Their presence at the sacrifice has to be invoked. They are seen coming either in visible form floating down as a bird as in the Mycenaean representations or in imagination," *A History of Greek Religion*, p. 148.

- A. Because of the custom of greeting kites in Spring.
 B. Because its disreputable habits are good comic material.

There may be an unconscious echo of an ancient view that the gods sent birds of prey to a sacrifice as their emissaries.

IV. *Bird-Tipped Sceptres and Bird-Crowned Deities.*

"He's gi'en to her a silver wand,
 With seven living larrocks sitting thereon."
 Old Scotch Ballad

Bird-Tipped Sceptres.

Peisthetaerus mentions another sign that birds formerly ruled, viz., the fact that kings bore bird tipped sceptres—

ἦρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὥστ' εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύοι
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος,
 ἐπὶ τῶν σκῆπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις μετέχων ὃ τι δωροδοκοίη.¹¹³

Only a few references to bird-tipped sceptres occur in extant Greek literature, and it is important to distinguish (1) between those which refer to real birds, (2) those which refer to artifacts, as the latter may be merely decorative and of no religious significance.

The examples quoted by the Scholiast to line 575 from Pindar and Sophocles clearly belong to the first category.

Pindar's lines:

εὔδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκείαν
 πτέρυνγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάζαις,
 ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπὶ οἱ νεφέλαν
 ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἀδὺν κλαῖστρον, κατέχευας¹¹⁴

were taken by Farnell¹¹⁵ to refer to a contemporary work of art, but this view seems less likely as the poet says elsewhere

οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς βαθμίδος
 ἐσταότ'.¹¹⁶

The play from which the Sophocles fragment

ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αἰετὸς, κύων Διός,¹¹⁷

derives is unknown, but there is no doubt that the reference is to a real eagle.

The αἰετός mentioned by Herodotus¹¹⁸ in his description of oriental walking sticks is an artifact:

¹¹³ *Birds*, 508 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Pyth.*, I, 6 ff.

¹¹⁵ Note *ad loc.*

¹¹⁶ *Nem.*, V, 1 ff.

¹¹⁷ Frag. 884 Pearson.

¹¹⁸ I, 195.

ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ρόδον ἢ κρίνον
ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκήπτρον.

The figures are obviously of the smallest religious significance.

Similarly the σκήπτρον described by Xenophon¹¹⁹ is really a standard and may have been carried by a bearer.

ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον αἰετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένους.
καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει.

The only actual example which occurs in art is a gold staff head from Cyprus, surmounted by two enamelled hawks, which probably dates from before 600 B. C.¹²⁰ Its significance is unfortunately very dubious, but the birds seem to be more than decorative. A design on an Attic amphora in Munich by the Nicoxenus painter¹²¹ dating from about the end of the sixth century B. C. shows Zeus bearing a σκήπτρον surmounted by an eagle. He bears a similar σκήπτρον in a design on an Attic red figured vase by the Geras painter,¹²² now in the Louvre, which dates from about 490-480 B. C. This is apparently the type of σκήπτρον referred to by Pausanias in his description of the Phidian Zeus. Pausanias states that the statue of Zeus at Olympia bore an eagle-tipped sceptre—τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκήπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡνθισμένον· ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθήμενός ἐστιν ὁ αἰετός.¹²³ The statement is clear enough, and although the Zeus of Phidias does not appear upon coins, there seems to be no reason to doubt its accuracy. The eagle is described specifically and was obviously a separate and important feature. Pausanias also states, as we have seen, in another passage that the statue of the goddess in the Heraeum bore a cuckoo-tipped sceptre—and 'proffered the current αἰτιών. Κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαι φασι, λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἦρα παρθένον τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι· τὴν δὲ ἄτε παίγνιον θηρᾶσαι.¹²⁴ Here again the cuckoo is clearly more than a decoration, and the sceptre doubtless resembled that of "Europa" on the coin from Gortyn quoted by Cook.¹²⁵ Now the eagle seems to have been a familiar of Zeus from the earliest times, and we must assume that

¹¹⁹ *Cyr.*, VII, 1, 4.

¹²⁰ Cf. L. H. Dudley Buxton, S. Casson, J. L. Myres, "A cloisonné staff head of gold from Cyprus," *Man*, XXXII (1932), pp. 1 f., Pl. A.

¹²¹ Munich, 2304 = J. 405. Cf. J. D. Beazley, "The Master of the Stroganoff Nikoxenos vase," *B. S. A.*, XIX (1912-1913), p. 235, Pl. 18; Furtwängler-Reichhold, III, p. 250, Pl. 158.

¹²² *C. V. A.*, Louvre 6, III 1. C. Pl. 43, 4 and p. 33.

¹²³ V, 11, 1.

¹²⁴ II, 17, 4.

¹²⁵ *Zeus*, I, pp. 528 f., figs. 391 f.

the cuckoo was associated with Hera. How the associations arose is not clear, but it is possible that they were inspired or at any rate influenced by Minoan-Mycenaean beliefs in bird epiphanies of the gods, or more likely of birds being emissaries from the gods.

Sir James Frazer¹²⁶ and A. B. Cook¹²⁷ considered that the bird on the sceptre symbolized the old king's soul, and, when he handed the sceptre to his successor, the power passed with it. "Taking into account these numerous transformations of the king into a bird, and especially that of Periphas,¹²⁸ who, when turned into an eagle, was allowed 'to guard the sacred sceptre,' I would conjecture that the soul of the slain king was supposed to escape in the form of a bird, and that its transmission to his successor was fitly symbolized by the eagle-tipped sceptre handed down from king to king."¹²⁹ But once again Cook's arguments are largely based upon evidence from later mythology. Homer mentions the handing down of the king's sceptre in a striking passage.¹³⁰ Hephaestus made it, and Zeus gave it, but there is no mention of any ghostly inheritance, whether symbolized by a bird or in any other way. The ceremony is referred to by Thucydides,¹³¹ and the word *σκήπτρον* comes to mean "kingly power" in the poets, but nowhere is there any mention of the kind of transference suggested by Dr. Cook. Nor does his theory explain the bird-tipped sceptres of the gods.

Frazer too appears to have inclined to Cook's view, basing his arguments largely upon modern and savage parallels—but even he is forced to admit, "Of this transmission I have no direct proof; and so far a link in the chain of evidence is wanting. But if I cannot prove by actual examples this succession to the soul of the slain god, it can at least be made probable that such a succession was supposed to take place."¹³²

We may therefore conclude as follows:

A. There is a certain amount of archaeological evidence for the existence of bird-tipped sceptres before the fifth century B. C.

B. The notion of adding a bird as a deity's attribute may have derived from Minoan-Mycenaean beliefs.

C. There is no sound evidence to support A. B. Cook's claim

¹²⁶ *Golden Bough*², II, p. 56.

¹²⁷ *Folklore*, XV, pp. 387 f.

¹²⁸ Antoninus Liberalis, 6.

¹²⁹ Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 389 f.

¹³⁰ *Iliad*, II, 100 f.

¹³¹ I, 9.

¹³² *Golden Bough*², II, p. 56.

that bird-tipped sceptres symbolized the transmission of the soul from one being to another.

Bird-Crowned Deities.

Aristophanes' reference to gods bearing birds on their heads—

ὁ δὲ δεινότατόν γ' ἐστὶν πάντων, ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων
αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεὺς ὢν,
ἢ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαυχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὥσπερ θεράπων ἱέρακα,¹³³

has given rise to much speculation, both in ancient and modern times. The Scholiast was puzzled by the phrase and suggested two possible explanations:

1. δέον εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, which is, to say the least, most unsatisfactory.

2. ἐπειδὴ εἰώθεσαν τὰ ἀφιερωμένα ἐκάστῳ θεῷ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἰδρύνεσθαι, which begs the question.

Only one other reference to bird-crowned deities occurs in classical Greek literature, viz. Pausanias' description of the cock-crowned image of Athena at Elis.¹³⁴ ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἡλείων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτήν, πεποιήται δὲ ἀλεκτρυνὼν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι οὗτοι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρύονες. The statement is not a strict parallel as it refers to a helmet and not to a head. Also πεποιήται could refer equally well to a relief as to an actual bird. The discovery of the Grächwil Hydria,¹³⁵ however, strengthens the latter possibility. In this example, the only one which occurs in art, and which dates from the early sixth century B. C., the πότνια θηρῶν is supported by animals, but a bird of prey is perched on her head. The only other example which bears any resemblance to this latter is the bronze figure of a priestess with a pole on her head topped by a bird, which was found at Ephesus.¹³⁶ ΛΥΣΑ¹³⁷ has a dog's head on her head on an Actaeon vase in Boston which dates from about 437 B. C. But the dog is doubtless intended to indicate her nature. The birds on the heads of the figures in what may be intended to represent a Tereus scene, although there are three women instead of two, on a small unpublished neck-amphora in Naples by the Attic Diosphos painter, which dates from the early fifth century B. C., are

¹³³ *Birds*, 514 f.

¹³⁴ VI, 26, 2.

¹³⁵ Cf. H. Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*, Pls. 3, 4, 5.

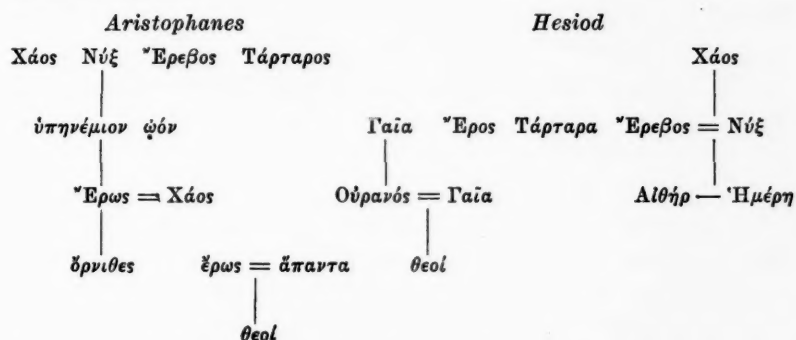
¹³⁶ Cf. Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 22.

¹³⁷ Pfuhl, 515, p. 195. Beazley, *Attic Red Figure Vase Painters*, p. 691.

probably intended to illustrate the myth. The only other parallels which occur are of course the bird-crowned female idols from the IIIrd shaft-grave at Mycenae,¹³⁸ and the idols from Knossus,¹³⁹ Gazi,¹⁴⁰ and Karphi.¹⁴¹ A. B. Cook¹⁴² is doubtless right in supposing that the memory of such archaic forms is hardly likely to have survived into classical times, but the Grächwil Hydria suggests that bird-crowned deities may have been more familiar to Aristophanes' contemporaries than has been suspected hitherto. The relationship of such deities to Minoan-Mycenaean deities cannot be proved, but it seems at least possible that there was some connection between the two.

V. The Wind Egg.

A comparison of Aristophanes' φύσις οἰωνῶν¹⁴³ with the opening events in Hesiod's *Theogony*¹⁴⁴ might be represented in tabular form as follows:



The most striking difference between the two is the introduction of the ᾠόν¹⁴⁵ by Aristophanes, and the fact that he makes ἔρεος emerge from the egg and become the father of the birds,¹⁴⁶ whereas Hesiod makes ἔρεος one of the original constituents of the Universe after Χάος.¹⁴⁷

The priority given to the egg is, of course, essential to the

¹³⁸ G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Pl. XXVII, figs. 27, 28. Assigned by Pendlebury to L. H. I, *The Archaeology of Crete*, p. 227.

¹³⁹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, fig. 193; cf. Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete*, p. 169, fig. 295.

¹⁴⁰ Marinatos, *Eph. Arch.*, 1937, pp. 278 f., figs. 1, 8, 9, 2.

¹⁴¹ Pendlebury, *B. S. A.*, XXXVIII (1937-1938), Pl. XXXI.

¹⁴² Zeus, III, p. 46, note 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Birds*, 695.

¹⁴³ *Birds*, 691.

¹⁴⁶ *Birds*, 696 f.

¹⁴⁴ 116 f.

¹⁴⁷ *Theogony*, 120.

poet's main argument, namely that the birds are older than the gods.¹⁴⁸ The problem then arises as to whether Aristophanes invented this novel theology for his own purposes, or whether he derived it from any other source.

Unfortunately the ancient evidence upon the subject of cosmic eggs is niggardly in the extreme.

Damascius says that Epimenides of Crete, who lived in the seventh century B. C., held that Night existed before the egg, and appears to have produced it;¹⁴⁹ while Orpheus, in a fragment, is reported to have stated that Chronus fashioned a silvery egg.¹⁵⁰ In other words, there seems to have been a tradition which connected the egg with Orphism, although the reference to "Chronus" suggests that it is late.

Now although neither of the sources quoted is strong evidence for the existence of this belief at an early period, they may perhaps be considered to carry more weight in the light of Aristophanes' statement, which does show, at any rate, that the belief in a cosmic egg was well established in the fifth century B. C.

The epithet *ὑπηνέμιον* is perhaps more significant than might at first appear.

The Scholiasts say—*ὑπηνέμια καλεῖται τὰ δίχα συνουσίας καὶ μίξεως· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ προσέριπται, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Διοσκούρους· φασὶ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι καὶ ὅτι σὺνήθες αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἀνεμαῖον λέγειν καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ "γόνιμον ἀνεμαῖον τυγχάνει."*¹⁵¹

In other words they offer two suggestions. First that eggs are so-called when they are infertile—second that *ὑπηνέμιον* is a synonym for *ἀνεμαῖον* and means "addled." Now there seems no doubt that the poet is emphasising the latter sense, which makes a good joke, but he is also playing on the serious sense of the word, which probably existed in the version which he is parodying.

Night, he says, brought forth the egg.¹⁵² There is no mention of a father,¹⁵³ so it was naturally a "wind egg," Night having been impregnated by the wind.

¹⁴⁸ *Birds*, 477.

¹⁴⁹ *De Theogoniis*, 68.

¹⁵⁰ Frag. 53: καὶ γὰρ Ὀρφεύς· ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας χρόνος αἰθέρι δίῳ ὦρον ἀργύφειον.

¹⁵¹ *Theaetetus*, 151 E.

¹⁵² *τίκτει πρῶτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νύξ ἡ μελανόπτερος ὦν, Birds*, 695.

¹⁵³ Aristophanes does say of course that Night brought the egg forth—*Ἐρέβους ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις*, which would seem to imply some association with the latter, particularly in view of the fact that she is said to have

Now there is a certain amount of ancient evidence for this belief.

A Harpy is said to have been the mother of Achilles' horses by Zephyrus, the west wind,¹⁵⁴ while Virgil tells how, by the winds, mares became pregnant.¹⁵⁵

The origin of the belief is obscure. It might date back to a time when the processes of birth and generation were not fully related, if indeed there ever was such a time, but it is more likely that there is some connection with the notion of identifying the wind with life.¹⁵⁶ *ψυχή* appears to be derived from the same root as *ψύχω* and was regarded as being of a like nature with the wind.¹⁵⁷ The soul departed at death into the winds, and life could presumably return through the winds at birth.

The explanation need not be doubted. It may appear to be too involved and mystical for the mind of primitive man, but is attested as Orphic by Aristotle.¹⁵⁸

The parallel with the Christian conception of the Virgin Birth is obvious.¹⁵⁹

The origin of the belief in a cosmic egg, whether Orphic or otherwise, is not easy to determine.

Eggs have always been popular symbols with inventors of theogonies and mythologists. The Egyptian demiurge Chnoum gave birth to a cosmic egg, according to Eusebius;¹⁶⁰ while Leda gave birth to the egg from which, according to one tradition, emerged Helen and the Dioscuri.¹⁶¹ This myth, however, was by no means universal as Nemesis was Helen's mother according to the Attic tradition which follows the *Cypria*.¹⁶² The reason why eggs have been chosen for these purposes seems clear; they

mated with him in Hesiod (*Theogony*, 124 f.)—but the relationship is not made explicit.

¹⁵⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, XVI, 150.

¹⁵⁵ *Georgics*, III, 274 f.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 94.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Cumont, *Le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains*, pp. 109 f.

¹⁵⁸ *De Anima*, 410 B 19; frag. 27 Kern. Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I, 2, 27, who makes it Pythagorean.

¹⁵⁹ J. E. Harrison, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, II, pp. 163 f.; *Prolegomena*, pp. 626 f.

¹⁶⁰ *De Praep. Eu.*, 3, 11.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Euripides, *Helena*, 1642; Schol. Callim. *Dian.*, 232.

¹⁶² Athen., VIII, 334 C; cf. R. Engelmann in Roscher, s. v. *Helena*, I, pp. 1929 f.

are excellent material for parables about births. There seems no need to postulate, with Jane Harrison, an origin from primitive taboos upon eggs.¹⁶³

The following conclusions may therefore be drawn, in connection with Aristophanes' reference to the "wind egg."

A. The poet was apparently parodying an old theogony, which told how life emerged from a cosmic egg.

B. He probably substituted "birds" for whatever first emerged from the egg in the original account. The transition was easy, for *Ἔρως* too is winged.

C. The origin of the widespread belief in a cosmic egg is unknown, but it was probably introduced to Greece by the Orphic movement.

D. The epithet *ὑπηνέμιον* appears to derive from ancient belief in the fertilising power of the winds. The origin of this belief is unknown, but may be connected with the conception of the soul, as the breath of life.

What then may be safely concluded with reference to the problems which we have been considering?

1. We have seen that the play is good evidence for the bird-mindedness of the Athenian populace in the late fifth century B. C.

2. There is no reason to suppose that the poet's references to the woodpecker, cuckoo, and cock were intended to be anything more than mere fairy tales. No sound arguments can be produced to show that these tales possessed any ritual significance whatsoever, or that they could be said to support the hypothesis that bird cults formerly existed in Greece.

3. Some of the features mentioned in connection with the kite may derive from a Mycenaean belief (hypothetical) that the presence of birds of prey at sacrifices represented the epiphanies of gods.

4. The custom in art of sometimes adding a bird in close association with a deity may derive from the Minoan.

5. The conception of a "wind egg" appears to be connected with the ancient belief in the fertilising power of the breezes.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

¹⁶³ *Prolegomena*, p. 629.

THE DATE AND NATURE OF THE SPANISH *CONSENSORIA MONACHORUM*.¹

In the fourth volume of his *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (2nd ed., 1914) M. Schanz briefly discusses under the Late Latin literature of Spanish Priscillianism the so-called *Regula Consensoria Monachorum*.² This short work, the correct title of which is *Consensoria Monachorum* (henceforth abbreviated as *CM*), takes the form of an agreement among a group of individuals seeking to establish a monastic community. It defines the terms of association, the admission of new members and the secession of old ones, the abbot's powers, and the preservation of the community and its movable wealth in the event of violent assault from without. Although certain late medieval MSS and the earliest printed editions ascribe the text to St. Augustine,³ L. Holstenius rightly rubricated it *incerti auctoris* in his 1661 *Codex Regularum Monasticarum*.⁴ No attempt at identification, however, was made until 1907, when I. Herwegen published his important study of the monastic *pactum*, that uniquely Spanish written contract between abbot and monks under which, in the territories of Galicia, Asturias, Castile, and the Navarrese Rioja, the strongly authoritarian abbatiates of orthodox cenobitism was radically modified in favor of a constitutional monastic polity emphasizing the monks' rights, even to rebellion, against their abbot.⁵ Impressed by certain quasi-pactual features of the *CM*,

¹ For assistance in the course of this study, grateful acknowledgment is made to the authorities of the Biblioteca del Escorial; the Frederick Sheldon Fund, Harvard University; the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia; and the Research Committee, University of Virginia.

² *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. I. von Müller, VIII, iv, 1, p. 384.

³ P. Schroeder, "Die Augustinerchorherrenregel. Entstehung, kritischer Text und Einführung der Regel," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, IX (1926), p. 273.

⁴ References are to the 1759 Vienna edition of Holstenius, by M. Broekie, which prints the *CM* text, t. I, pp. 136-7. With minor revisions, this is the text reproduced in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1844-64), LXVI, cols. 993-6.

⁵ Dom Ildefons Herwegen, *Das Pactum des hl. Fruktuosus von Braga* (Stuttgart, 1907; *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, ed. U. Stutz, Heft 40), pp. 71-9.

Herwegen (pp. 71-9) very tentatively asserted the work might well emanate from the same general region and period which, as he ably demonstrated, produced the *pactum*, i. e., the old Roman-Visigothic province of Callaecia, Gallaecia, or Galicia, soon after 650. This proposal, however, was immediately and forcefully assailed by D. DeBruyne, who argued that its reference to the Germanic invasions of Roman Spain and its use of a pre-Hieronymian Bible necessarily dated the *CM* no later than the fifth century, while peculiarities of content and terminology proved it to be a monastic Rule used by communities of heretical Priscillianist monks.⁶

Since 1908 DeBruyne's conclusions have been almost unanimously accepted among students of Hispano-Latin literature and Spanish ecclesiastical history,⁷ the only exceptions being the already cited Schanz, who finds them "ohne durchschlagende Gründe," and Ángel Custodio Vega, the latest editor of the text, for whom the Priscillianist evidence particularly seems inconclusive.⁸ It is the aim of the present paper to attack this current identification and, after refuting DeBruyne, to prove that the *CM*, as Herwegen suggested, is a type of non-Priscillianist Galician monastic *pactum* of the later seventh century.

1. *The charge of Priscillianism.* DeBruyne's case for the *CM*'s

⁶ Dom Donatien DeBruyne, "La *Regula Consensoria*. Une règle des moines priscillianistes," *Revue Bénédictine*, XXV (1908), pp. 83-8. DeBruyne's Priscillianist theory apparently derives from a remark of U. Berlière, *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXIV (1907), p. 41*. Although Herwegen took occasion to reply to other strictures of DeBruyne upon *Das Pactum* (e. g., *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXIX [1912], pp. 97-8), he tacitly accepted the demolition of his *CM* hypothesis.

⁷ E. g., O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i. B., 1902-32), III, p. 412; U. Moricca, *Storia della Letteratura Latina Cristiana* (Turin, 1928-), II, 1, p. 594; Pascual Galindo, "Literatura hispano-latina. Escritores cristianos," in R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.), *Historia de España. II. España Romana* (Madrid, 1935), p. 557; H. Leclercq, "Cénobitisme," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, II, 2 (Paris, 1910), cols. 3220-1; Z. García Villada, *Historia Eclesiástica de España* (Madrid, 1929-), I, 2, p. 141; J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los Monjes Españoles en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1933-4), I, pp. 158-162.

⁸ *La Regla de San Agustín* (El Escorial, 1933), p. 7. I have not seen B. Garnelo, "Datos históricos acerca de la Regla de San Agustín," *Archivo Augustiniano*, XXXVIII (1932), pp. 364-97, which includes a brief treatment of the *CM*, presumably based on DeBruyne.

Priscillianist origin is by no means strong. The work's promulgation by the monks themselves rather than by a monastic legislator, its sharp curtailment of the abbot's powers, and its marked interest in the monastic temporal, which is strangely viewed as the collective possession of the *consentientes*, all testify to a certain unorthodoxy, but this no more proves the *CM* Priscillianist than his mortality proves Socrates a hare. The first feature is abnormal only if the *CM* is assumed to be a Rule, which, as we shall see, it is not; the second recalls the non-monarchical abbatiade of the *pactum*, which, however unorthodox, is certainly not Priscillianist; and as for the third, it may be pointed out that Priscillianism was at least as hostile as orthodox monasticism to the possession of material goods by avowed ascetics.⁹ Again, the single citation of a probably apocryphal scripture (c. iii: *amicum noli*, etc.), which DeBruyne relates to the known Priscillianist addiction to this type of literature, likewise carries little weight, for, down to the tenth century at least, Spanish writings of unimpeachable orthodoxy cite uncanonical prophetic and exhortatory tracts as if they possessed Biblical authority.¹⁰

Hardly more convincing is DeBruyne's claim that the strong fear of doctrinal contamination from without (c. v.: *aut si quis ab aliquo doctrinam audierit, praeter quam in monasterio consecutus est, ab eo cui se credidit hanc aut non suscipiat aut eam non subtrahat doctore* [i. e., *abbati*]) is directed against orthodoxy. This really cuts both ways: orthodox monks in a Priscillianist milieu might well so seek to protect themselves against circumambient heresy. But the correct interpretation of this passage is surely not a doctrinal one, for in monastic circles *doctrina* commonly means not tenet of faith but ascetic practice.¹¹

⁹ Cf., *inter alios*, E.-Ch. Babut, *Priscillien et le Priscillianisme* (Paris, 1909), pp. 84-5; 135.

¹⁰ E. g., *Regula Monastica Communis*, c. xii: *omnis detractor eradicabitur* (Holstenius-Brockie, *Cod. Reg. Mon.*, I, 214, where its ascription to "Gal. 7" is equivalent to dating it on the Greek Kalends); Z. García Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III* (Madrid, 1918), pp. 60-1: *in vanum currit*, etc.; and an 864 charter of the cathedral church of Santa María de Valpuesta, beginning *inquirite dominum*, etc. (L. Barrau-Dihigo, "Chartes de l'église de Valpuesta du ix^e au xi^e siècle," *Rev. Hispanique*, VII [1900], pp. 297-9).

¹¹ Cf. St. Benedict, *Reg. Monach.*, c. lxxiii: *sunt doctrinae sanctorum patrum quarum observatio perducatur hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis* (ed. C. Butler [Freiburg i. B., 1927], p. 131).

To cite only Spanish examples, the council of VII Toledo in 646 (c. v) declares of itinerant anchorites: *in monasteriis omnimodo deputentur ut illic sancti ordinis meditatores doctrinam primum possint discere quae sunt a patribus instituta . . . atque tunc demum si doctrinae et sancti operis fructu exstiterint fecundati, ad summam virtutis properent.*¹² In XI Toledo (675) abbots are warned against tolerating any departure from traditional liturgical usage (c. iii); a violator is to be punished: *et necessariam officiorum doctrinam studiose addiscat.*¹³ The Galician *Regula SS. Pauli et Stephani Abbatum* parallels the *CM* passage closely, when it says (c. xiv): *nec ab adveniente hospite sine iussu prioris quidquam talium rerum aliquis audeat meditari, ne peregrinis varietatum doctrinis et quodammodo diliramentorum suavitatibus irretiti, simplicitatis et veritatis maturitatem fastidiant.*¹⁴ That *doctrina* in *CM*, c. v, has the same meaning as in the foregoing instances is confirmed by the context: the monk believes (*se credidit*) the transmitter of the *doctrina*, but the *doctrina* itself is not so much believed as followed or observed (*consecutus est*). Monastic usage, moreover, is a subject upon which abbots might properly pass judgment; matters of faith would be more naturally referred to sacerdotal or episcopal authorities.

DeBruyne's final proof of Priscillianist origin is the *CM*'s use of *doctor* as equivalent to *abbas* (c. v), which he regards as unique in monastic history. The title *doctor* is known to have been applied by the Priscillianists to members of their ascetic governing élite, and its assumption by individuals was expressly forbidden in Spain by the anti-Priscillianist council of Saragossa in 380 (c. vii).¹⁵ But to identify the Priscillianist *doctor*, whose charismatic authority would in all likelihood make him a highly autocratic official,¹⁶ with the weak *primus inter pares* of the *CM*, hardly seems logical. Besides, early monastic literature both within and outside Spain frequently refers to the teaching functions of the abbot;¹⁷ and evidence exists to show that, whatever

¹² Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIV, col. 408.

¹³ *Ibid.*, col. 459.

¹⁴ *Patr. Lat.*, LXVI, cols. 953-4.

¹⁵ *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIV, col. 316.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Puech, "Les origines du priscillianisme," *Bull. d'Ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, II (1912), pp. 176-7.

¹⁷ E. g., *Reg. I^a. SS. Patrum*, c. xvi (Holst-Brockie, I, p. 14; *Patr.*

its original heretical connotation, *doctor* eventually came to be used technically in Visigothic Spain to mean a ruler of monks, whether an abbot or (with reference to episcopal control over diocesan monasteries) a bishop. The *Regula Orientalis* of Vigilius, apparently written in Gaul in the early fifth century, and widely used in Spain, refers to the abbot (c. i) as *doctor et pater*.¹⁸ Two metrical Latin epitaphs of the *Anthologia Hispana* illustrate, it would seem, the episcopal application. One, that of the metropolitan bishop John of Tarragona (d. 519-20), speaks of him as *rector doctor(que) prefuisti monacis et populis*.¹⁹ The other, the epitaph of the bishop Justinian of Valencia (ca. 546), reads in part: *pius preclarus doctor alacer facundus / . . . / virgines institue(n)s monacos(que) gu<bernans*.²⁰ The early tenth century Escorial MS Lat. a. I. 13, containing much pre-711 Galician material, speaks, in an as yet unidentified text, of penitents who remain *sub potestate iudicis aut doctoris vel abbatis*.²¹ Other examples might be cited from unpublished tenth and eleventh century Spanish charters in which Hispano-Visigothic ecclesiastical terminology is conservatively retained.²²

Lat., CIII, cols. 440-1); S. Orsiesius, *Doctrina de Inst. Monach.*, c. xxv (A. Boon-L. Th. Lefort, *Pachomiana Latina* [Louvain, 1932], p. 126); S. Fructuosus, *Reg. Monach.*, c. xx (*Patr. Lat.*, LXXXVII, col. 1108).

¹⁸ Holst.-Broekie, I, p. 61; *Patr. Lat.*, CIII, col. 477; cf. Boon-Lefort, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-4.

¹⁹ José Vives, *Inscripciones Cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda* (Barcelona, 1942), pp. 83-4 (no. 277); G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1857-8), II, 1, p. 294; E. Hübner, *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianarum Supplementum* (Berlin, 1900), p. 84 (no. 413). Vives is doubtless right in confining *doctor* in these two inscriptions to episcopal monastic jurisdiction and denying its equivalence to *abbas*; but since Visigothic bishops were commonly recruited from the abbatiates, an implied reference to the fact that John and Justinian had earlier served as abbots need not be altogether ruled out.

²⁰ Vives, p. 85 (no. 279); de Rossi, p. 293; Hübner, no. 409.

²¹ Fol. 52r; cf. G. Antolín, "Un 'codex regularum' del siglo IX," *Ciudad de Dios*, LXXV (1908), p. 316.

²² 970: *doctori Sigerrici abbati* (L. Barrau-Dihigo, "Notes et documents sur l'histoire du royaume de Leon. I. Chartes royales léonaises," *Revue Hispanique*, X [1903], p. 399); ca. 980: . . . *abba siue doctor albel(d)ensis* (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, *Libro de Pergaminos de San Juan de la Peña*, I [MS 442], priv. 12-R; date restored on prosopographical grounds); 1087: *pelagius abba doctor*

Lastly, DeBruyne fails to explain the sanctions clause of the *CM*'s initial chapter: *in domino ergo iure observationis et legis nos teneamus*, etc. *Observatio* here means *observatio monastica*, i. e., the canonical obligations of the monastic vows; while *lex* has reference to the *lex civilis*, i. e., to secular enforcement in Late Roman and post-Roman law of the *conditio monastica*, as well as of the contract as such. Either we must assume, contrary to all probability, that the state in Galicia, whether Late Roman, Suevic, or Visigothic, was expected to enforce a heretical covenant which could have no validity in its courts following the Emperor Maximus' official proscription of Priscillianism (384), a ban never revoked under Suevic or Visigothic law, so far as we know; or, as is far more probable, the *CM* was a covenant not among heretics but among orthodox monks, binding in the *ius utriusque fori*. In the latter case, the charge of Priscillianism loses its last remaining support.

2. *The Germanic invasions.* Since Priscillianism, as the canons of the council of II Braga (572) show, survived in Galicia until late in the sixth century, DeBruyne uses other evidence to prove the *CM*'s fifth century origin, although its alleged heretical character naturally strengthened the case for an early date. From cc. vii-viii it appears that the *CM* monastery was frequently (*ut fieri solet*) menaced with destruction by *incursio repentina aut hostilitas*. In c. vii the monks promise that, if forced to flee for this reason, they will reassemble about the abbot and restore to him whatever monastic chattels they have been able to rescue at the time of attack. For DeBruyne, these mysterious assaults fix 500 A. D. as the *CM*'s *terminus ante quem*, for he explains them as due to the fifth century Germanic invasions of Roman Spain, at a time when the province of Gallaecia was repeatedly harassed by marauding bands of Alans, Asdingian Vandals, and Sueves. This interpretation would be more convincing if the context did not equally permit the destroyers to be the hostile Arabs or Berbers of the eighth century,²³ or, assuming the *CM* Priscillianist, orthodox extirpators of heretical

monacorum (Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, *Tumbo de San Salvador de Celanova* [MS 986 B], fol. 41^v).

²³ L. Barrau-Dihigo, "Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien (718-910)," *Rev. Hisp.*, LII (1921), pp. 106-45, 150-7, and especially pp. 250-60 and 348-52 on monastic establishments in frontier territory still subject to hostile invasion.

monachism. But the true significance of these passages is clarified by other Galician references to destructive attacks upon monastic communities. The *Regula Monastica Communis*, written in the province ca. 660-675, speaks in several places of attacks upon abbeys by kinsmen seeking to recover property granted a house by some relative at the time of his monastic profession.²⁴ So, in c. i, it describes the frequency with which monks of what it calls false monasteries encompass the ruin of their communities: *quod si aliqua ex illis imbecillitas apparuerit, propinquos, quos in saeculo reliquerunt, cum gladiis et fustibus ac minis sibi adiutores adducunt, et qualiter haec disrumpant in prima dudum conversatione excogitant*. Such armed violence, however, was equally feared by more orthodox communities, for in c. xiv the *Reg. Mon. Com.* notes the necessity of expelling a monk who *contra seniore vel fratres in facie perstiterit, et cum propinquis se vindicare maluerit*; and a little later it adds (c. xviii): *comperimus per minus cauta monasteria qui cum facultaticulis suis ingressi sunt, postea tepefactos cum grandi exprobratione repetere et saeculum quod relinquerant, ut canes ad vomitum, revocare; et cum propinquis quod monasteria contulerant hoc extorquere et iudices saeculares requirere et cum senioribus*²⁵ *monasteria dissipare*. So, too, in the *pactum* appended to this Rule, the monk pledges the abbot that he will not *contra regulam occulte cum parentibus germanis filiis cognatis vel propinquis aut certe cum fratre secum habitante consilium de absente supradicto patre nostro inierit*. Other examples might be cited, but these will suffice to prove that cc. vii-viii of the *CM* refer not to such major political catastrophes as the Germanic or Muslim invasions, but to attacks of hostile kinsmen whose hopes of landed inheritance and other wealth lay in destroying the monastery and recovering their relative's portion of its temporal. This background of familial property concepts and of hostility toward Roman modes of alienation of goods illumines the *CM*'s insistence upon the temporal as permanently transferred to communal ownership. It reveals that this latter doctrine was designed to meet the needs of an environment in which monastic poverty and divine proprietorship of ecclesiastical goods were but dimly understood and little respected. All of which points not to the

²⁴ Holst.-Brockie, I, pp. 208-19; *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXVII, cols. 1109-30.

²⁵ Perhaps read *saionibus*, with Herwegen, p. 3, n. 1.

Roman fifth, but the Visigothic seventh, century as the period of the *CM*'s composition.

3. *The Biblical citations.* In DeBruyne's judgment, the *CM*'s fifth century origin is decisively proved by its use of an Old Latin rendering of the Scriptures, since by 500 the Vulgate was well established in the Iberian peninsula.²⁶ Of the fourteen Biblical citations one, as already seen, is probably apocryphal: *amicum noli*, etc. (c. iii); a second is too brief or free a paraphrase to be significant: *unum*, etc. (c. i); two are the same in OL and Vulg.: *habentes*, etc. (c. i; Acts 2, 44 or 4, 32) and *pacifici*, etc. (c. iv; Eccles. 6, 6); and the remaining ten unquestionably contain a high proportion of OL readings, chiefly from *a*, *b*, *c*, and several African versions, above all, *k*. DeBruyne assumes (hence apparently Schanz's doubts, *loc. cit.*) that by the sixth century the Vulg. had either displaced or so corrupted OL Biblical MSS in Galicia that a work so predominantly OL in its citations as the *CM* could not have been written. Yet everything we know of the history of the Spanish Bible well into the Middle Ages testifies to the remarkable longevity of the OL and the retarded triumph of the Vulg. This applies with especial force to so relatively isolated and remote a province as Galicia. Berger and Dom Quentin have shown that even down to the eleventh century Spanish Biblical texts fall into four main categories: OL Bibles; Vulg. Bibles containing whole books in OL; Vulg. books peppered with OL readings, and even occasionally provided with OL marginal glosses; and Vulg. Bibles, although as DeBruyne himself notes, "on devait chercher longtemps avant de trouver [en Espagne] une Vulgate pure."²⁷ Peninsular Biblical citations, therefore, ordinarily display an admixture of OL and Vulg. readings, something a more careful analysis may show to be true of the *CM*, since two of its citations could be from the Vulg. and among the other ten there are some possibly distinctively Vulg. readings.

²⁶ On the OL in Spain, cf., *passim*, Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893); F. C. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Cambridge, 1896; *Texts and Studies*, IV, 3); F. Stummer, *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel* (Paderborn, 1928); and D. DeBruyne, "étude sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne," *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXI (1914-19), pp. 373-401.

²⁷ Berger, pp. 8-28; H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate, Ière partie: Octateuque* (Rome-Paris, 1922), chap. VI; DeBruyne, *Rev. Bénéd.*, XXV (1908), p. 88.

In short, the strong probability exists of OL Bibles surviving in Galicia at least to 711, above all in the rural milieu from which the *CM* evidently springs. This argument DeBruyne partially anticipates by calling attention to the difference in the Biblical versions used in the seventh century Galician *Regula Monachorum* of Fructuosus of Braga and the *Regula Monastica Communis*.²⁸ The degree of "hieronymianization" of these two works in the unsatisfactory printed editions is uncertain, but in any case the four brief citations of the *Reg. Monach.* prove nothing. The some thirty-four citations of the *Reg. Mon. Com.*, however, reflect a highly mixed Bible, almost as much OL as Vulg., and with the same affinities as the *CM* to *a*, *b*, *c*, and the African group. The higher content here of Vulg. readings as compared with *CM* is explicable geographically as well as chronologically. It is just what might be expected in a literary work emanating from Braga, the chief cultural and ecclesiastical center; undoubtedly the rate of occurrence of OL readings and OL Biblical MSS would rise as one moved out from the provincial capital.

Until we get some much needed chronological and regional studies of OL-Vulg. interaction in Spain, we can only generalize with caution, but it seems reasonable to conclude that setting the fifth century as the arbitrary terminus of OL circulation in Galicia is hazardous, if not downright erroneous. This is particularly true if it can be shown that all the other evidence strongly points to a seventh century date for the *CM*, as examination of the text and its transmission will soon make clear.

If the *CM* is neither Priscillianist nor necessarily of the fifth century, then Herwegen's proposed identification as a type of later seventh century Galician monastic *pactum* merits the critical examination it has not yet received. Of first importance in this connection is the neglected evidence of the manuscript tradition. Three early medieval collections of monastic Rules preserve the *CM* text: (1) Munich Hof- und Staatsbibliothek Lat. 28118, saec. ix (*M*), the great Codex Trevirensis from the St. Maximinus abbey at Trier, containing the *Codex Regularum* of the Carolingian monastic reformer St. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821);²⁹ (2) Escorial Lat. a. I. 13, fols. 50^v, col. 2-51^v, col. 2,

²⁸ Holst.-Broekie, I, pp. 201-219; *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXVII, cols. 1099-1130.

²⁹ O. Seebass, "Über das Regelbuch Benedikts von Aniane," *Zeitschrift*

saec. x ineunte (B), copied by Leodegundia for the Galician nunnery of Bobadilla, near Samos, prov. Lugo;³⁰ and (3) Escorial Lat. s. III. 32, fols. 66^r-67^v, saec. ix (E), of northwest or north-central Spanish provenance.³¹ In addition, the rubric of a lost text survives in London Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 30055, fol. 223^r, saec. x (L), a *codex regularum* from the archive of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, near Burgos in Old Castile.³²

According to Seebass and Plenkers, Holstenius' printed text, which Migne reproduces with slight revision, is probably based upon a 1467 Cologne MS (Stadtbibliothek theol. 231) that is an accurate copy of M.³³ Ángel C. Vega's 1933 edition is the first to use the important Escorial codices, but it regrettably fails to publish the majority of their variant readings, tending to conceal the fact that the Holstenius-Brockie-Migne text con-

für *Kirchengeschichte*, XV (1894-5), pp. 244-60; H. Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln* (Munich, 1906; *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Bd. I, Hft. 3), pp. 4-8. On Benedict of Aniane and his *Codex*, cf. P. Schmitz, "Benoît d'Aniane," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, VIII (Paris, 1935), pp. 177-88 (with good bibliography).

³⁰ G. Antolín, "Historia y descripción de un 'codex regularum' del siglo IX," *Ciudad de Dios*, LXXV (1908), pp. 23-33, 304-316, 460-71, 637-49; LXXVI (1908), pp. 310-323, 457-70; LXXVII (1908), pp. 48-56, 131-6 [also separately, Madrid, 1908]; *idem*, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* (Madrid, 1910-23), I, pp. 21-25. For the date, cf., most recently, A. Millares Carlo, *Nuevos Estudios de Paleografía Española* (Mexico City, 1941), pp. 106-7.

³¹ Antolín, *Catálogo*, IV, pp. 82-5.

³² W. M. Whitehill, "Un códice visigótico de San Pedro de Cardena (British Museum, Additional ms. 30055)," *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, CVII (1935), pp. 513-14. The survival of still another early CM text in Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 10876, saec. x, is suggested by Gerou's reference to the *Regula S. Isidori* as there containing 25 titles (note that in B and L the CM appears as c. xxv of this *regula*); but L. Delisle's description of this MS, giving the Isidorian *explicit* and the rubrics of two short appended pieces (*Reg. S. Pachomii*, c. lxxvii; *Conc. Hispal. II*, c. xi) seems to rule out this possibility. Cf. Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits disparus de la bibliothèque de Tours pendant la première moitié du xix^e siècle," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXI, 1 (1884), pp. 246-7; *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Départements*, XXXVII, 1 (ed. M. G. Collon; Paris, 1900), pp. 493-4.

³³ Plenkers, *loc. cit.*

tains numerous errors. Vega's text also rests primarily upon *M*, so that the need for a new critical edition is evident. Collation of all three MSS, the results of which can only be briefly summarized here, establishes several important points hitherto overlooked. The most obvious is the just mentioned weakness of *M*, which is corrected not infrequently by the agreement of *B* and *E*. More striking, however, is the fact of the general agreement between *M* and *E* as against *B*, a divergence marked enough to justify the conclusion that there exist two fairly distinguishable versions of the text. This double tradition is established by the following major variant readings:

M and *E*: communi definitione decrevimus apud nos, ab ullo, quod et (a *E*) nobis scriptum est, teneamus et in eo usque in finem permaneamus quoniam (c. i); vestimento, vestiemini, quaerite, opponetur (adponetur *E*) (c. ii); qui prior est, amicum noli cito comprobare (c. iii); indicet (*om. E*) abbati (c. iv); haec quae scripta sunt (hec conscriptum est *E*) (c. v); adversus alterum (abbatem *E*) altercatus fuerit semel sed (altercatus emendet se *E*) secundum evangelium (c. vi); abbatem, festinare debebunt, ullo modo poterunt (poterint *E*) separari quos divina charitas (karitas *E*) sociavit quia cautum (c. vii); superius, proprie (cui per *E*) retinere, cogitaverit (c. viii); propter, cauta qui (c. ix).

B: degretum est apud nos, ab ullis, quod a nobis ceptum est, teneamus quoniam; uestitum, utimini, querite primum, adicietur; qui preest, amicum noli cito comprobare aut si cito conprobaberis noli cito reprobare; renuntiet abbati; hec conscriptio; aduersus aliut altercatus fuerit emendet secundum euangelium; abbatem eorum, festinare debent, ullo metu poterint separari cautum; iam superius, cum ipso retinere, contigerit; non propter, cauta quia.

Some of *B*'s variants from *M* and *E* are explicable as scribal omissions or alterations (e. g., in c. ii *utimini* and *adicie(n)tur* are Vulg. substitutions for the original OL), and at certain points its text is less clear than that of *M* and *E*. Nevertheless, there are indications that in some respects *B* stands closer than either *M* or *E* to a lost archetype. The apocryphal citation of c. iii, which no scribe would be likely to supplement, appears in fuller form; the *altercatio* passage (c. vi) avoids the confusing readings of both *M* and *E*, which disagree here; and the logical

non propter . . . stabiles of c. ix is found only in *B*. All these variants, although they do not affect the meaning of the text in any serious sense, suffice to establish two different traditions.

No less significant is the fact that this double textual tradition is reinforced by the MSS in another way. All four MSS attach the *CM* closely to a monastic Rule. In *M* and *E* the work immediately follows the *Regula S. Basilii*, under the rubric *incipit consensoria monachorum*.³⁴ In *B* and *L* it stands as an additional twenty-fifth chapter of the *Regula S. Isidori* (in *B* simply rubricked *c. xxv*; in *L* as *c. xxv. incipit consensoria monachorum*). From this it may be inferred that before passing into the *codices regularum* each of these Rules must have circulated independently in MSS containing only the Rule and the attached *CM*. This testimony to what may be called Basilian and Isidorian lines of transmission takes on even greater interest when it is discovered to parallel exactly the double descent of the text. *M* and *E*, textually in basic agreement, both belong to the Basilian line; *B* (unfortunately the *L* text is lost), to the Isidorian.

All this throws much needed light upon the origins and nature of the *CM*. It confirms its Spanish and, specifically, Galician, provenance, first proposed by Herwegen but never proved, even by DeBruyne. Three of the known MSS are now seen to be Spanish (*B* from Galicia, *L* from Castile, *E* from the same general area); and it could be shown without much difficulty, although this is not the place to undertake it, that all the early medieval Spanish *codices regularum* (and a number of these are known) derive from one or more late seventh century Galician collections of monastic Rules. The same is true of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum*, which *M* preserves; this contains an undue proportion of Galician material, some of it not otherwise preserved, even in Galician MSS (e.g., the complete *Regula Monastica Communis*, the *Regula SS. Pauli et Stephani Abbatum*, and the *De Genere Monachorum* of the abbot Valerius), and it seems very likely that the great leader of the Carolingian Benedictine Reform drew heavily, and perhaps directly, upon the rich literary tradition of seventh century Galician monasticism.³⁵

³⁴ Benedict of Aniane places the *CM* after the Benedictine Rule, but for its post-Basilian position in *M*, see Plenkers, p. 8.

³⁵ According to Vega (pp. 27, 30), *M* is of Spanish provenance.

Furthermore, the collocation of the *CM* in Basilian or Isidorian MSS assists in determining its date, for it is possible to discover within reasonable limits when the *Regula S. Isidori* reached Galicia. Isidore did not write his Rule until the period of his metropolitanate, 620-636; and Fructuosus of Braga, author *ca.* 635 of the first Galician monastic Rule, shows no knowledge of it, although he draws freely upon such other monastic sources as Cassian, Pachomius, Jerome *ad Eustochium*, and the *De Ordine Monachorum*. On the other hand, the Galician *Regula Monastica Communis*, which appeared *ca.* 660-675, definitely cites the Isidorian Rule.³⁶ The latter thus seems to have reached Galicia soon after 650. The Basilian Rule cannot be traced in this fashion, but it was not used by Fructuosus and probably reached Galicia at much the same time as the *Reg. S. Isid.* To be sure, it is not enough to know that the *CM* could not have circulated in Galicia, as an appendix to the Isidorian and Basilian Rules, before *ca.* 650, since conceivably it could have done so earlier as an independent document. But if, as seems inherently likely, it was written to supplement a monastic Rule, and if, as the MSS indicate, it was normally used with either the Basilian or Isidorian *regulae*, then the probability is that it dates from about the same period as the Galician advent of these Rules, namely *ca.* 650-675.

That the *CM* was intended to accompany a Rule and be used with it, exactly as the so-called Fructuosan *pactum* was designed for use with, and was attached in the MSS to the terminus of, the *Regula Monastica Communis*, seems certain. Rule the *CM* emphatically is not, nor is it so entitled except in late non-Spanish MSS and the printed editions. It contains none of the prescriptions on daily régime, diet, clothing, labor, prayer, etc., indispensable to monastic Rules. The significant fact that, as in the Fructuosan *pactum*, the monks affix their signatures to it,

³⁶ *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. ix: *et patrum exempla . . . lignarius fuit* is based on *Reg. S. Isid.*, c. v, 2: *nam patriarchae . . . officium gessit*. This passage originally comes from St. Augustine, *De Opere Monachorum*, c. xiii: *si Iudaeos dixerint . . . faber fuit* (ed. J. Zycha, *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.* [Vienna, 1900], p. 555); but the language shows it reached the *Reg. Mon. Com.* through Isidore. For a clue to the advent and popularity of Isidore's writings in Galician monastic circles *ca.* 675, cf. the prologue to the *Vita S. Fructuosi* (ed. by F. C. Nock, *The Vita Sancti Fructuosi* [Washington, 1946; *Cath. Univ. of America Studies in Mediaeval History*, N. S., VII], pp. 86-9).

proves beyond all cavil its true character as a formal legal instrument. Style and terminology supply further evidence. The *CM*'s opening formulae closely resemble the juridical language of the Visigothic ecclesiastical synods, as can be seen by comparing its initial *communi definitione decrevimus* (*degretum est apud nos B*) . . . *residentibus nobis in monasterio . . . omnibus placuit* with *consensu communi decrevimus* (council of II Seville [619], c. xi); *communi definitione decrevimus . . . communi decreto sancimus* (IX Toledo [655], *praef.* and c. ix); *patribus residentibus* (XIII Toledo [683]); *nobis residentibus . . . patribus residentibus* (XVII Toledo [694]).³⁷ *Omnibus placuit* is a common commencement of conciliar decrees. This legal terminology is in keeping with the fact that in c. viii the *CM* expressly calls itself a *pactum*. This is in the passage prohibiting seizure of the monastic temporal by any of the *consentientes* on the grounds that this *per pactum ad omnes pertinet*; and it would be absurd to posit any other agreement on common ownership than cc. iv and viii of the *CM* itself. Five other terms occur in the MSS to describe the text: *definitio* (c. i: *M, E*); *conscriptio* (c. v: *B*); *liber* (c. ix); *sermo* (c. ix: *E*, which terminates: *finit hic sermo*); and the titular *consensoria monachorum*. *Conscriptio* is fairly neutral, and *sermo* is evidently a later scribal rubric; but *definitio* recalls the synonymous use of *definitio* and *pactum* (or *placitum*) in the *Leges Visigothorum* (e. g., II, 5, 8: *placitum sive definitio*; III, 1, 4: *pacta vel definitiones*).³⁸ The phrase *in isto libro* preceding the monks' subscriptions can be paralleled in the Mozarabic liturgy by the use of *libellum* to designate the monastic *pactum*.³⁹ Given the original terminal position of the *CM* in MSS of the Basilian or Isidorian Rules, however, it seems possible to take *liber* here as referring to the whole *liber regulae*, with the Rule and consensorial *pactum* taken together. The term *consensoria* is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, found only in the *CM*, and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (IV, 390, s. v. *cōnsēnsōrius*, -a -um), misled by the printed editions, erroneously regards it as an adjective, with *regula* understood.

³⁷ *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIV, cols. 598, 433, 437, 487, 551, 552.

³⁸ Ed. K. Zeumer, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges*, I, 1 (Hanover-Leipzig, 1902), pp. 109, 126, and index, s. v. *definitio, pactum*.

³⁹ M. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum en Usage dans l'Eglise Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne* (Paris, 1904; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, V), col. 86.

If anything is understood it is really *definitio* or the like, but the probability is that the word is a noun, not an adjective (cf. similar Late Latin first declension feminines as *tractoria*, *completuria*, *tonsuriae*).⁴⁰ The employment of *consensoria* rather than *pactum* in the title reflects the juridical distinction between the *CM* and the *Reg. Mon. Com. pactum*: the latter is a bilateral contract between two parties, the abbot and the corporate body of monks, while the *CM*, in which each *consentiens* is a contracting party, resembles more closely the Roman *societas omnium bonorum*. Notwithstanding this difference, the *CM* from the monastic standpoint is essentially a *pactum*, i. e., a written and subscribed covenant for the foundation, governance, and enlargement of a monastic society.

At this point it becomes necessary to defend the unity of the text against DeBruyne's captious effort (pp. 83-4) to split it into two different redactions, one terminating with the sentence *iugiter (igitur MSS) haec*, etc. of c. v, and the other, of perceptibly later date, extending through to the conclusion.⁴¹ DeBruyne holds that (1) *iugiter haec*, etc. logically conclude an original form of the text; (2) the two mentions of property (cc. iv, viii) would have been united in a document written at one time, and c. viii could only have been added later after non-observance of c. iv; (3) disunity and incoherence are proved by the phrase *quod superius diximus* (c. viii), which has no application to anything whatsoever in the text. Actually, however, the words *iugiter haec*, etc. conclude and emphasize the immediately preceding directives on property and withdrawal, and could never have been followed by the signatures of the *consentientes*, as c. ix is. The separate treatment of property is accounted for by the fact that c. iv deals with it under normal conditions, c. viii with its preservation under abnormal conditions, i. e., after the monastery's destruction, as anticipated in c. vii. The phrase *quod superius (iam superius B) diximus* naturally and logically applies to the *causa necessitatis* theme of cc. vii and possibly iv. DeBruyne himself admits the text is "tout entière conçue dans le même esprit et peut-être aussi

⁴⁰ C. D. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1883-7), VIII, p. 144; Férotin, *op. cit.*, index, s. v. *completuria*, *tonsurie*.

⁴¹ Berlière (*Rev. Bénéd.*, XXV [1908], p. 72) also had his doubts concerning this partition of the text, which was first suggested by Herwegen, p. 72.

dans le même style." In short, the logic of the text surpasses that of the hypercritical attempt to dichotomize it.

Recognition of its unity and its factual character considerably advances the problem of the *CM*'s chronological allocation. It is DeBruyne's greatest weakness that he wholly neglects to determine the work's logical place in the historical and institutional evolution of Galician monasticism.⁴² His major premises, that in fifth century Galicia (as nowhere else in Spain) Priscillianist anchoritism developed full-fledged monastic communities, that two centuries before orthodox monastic Rules were written in Spain Galician Priscillianism had produced one, and that the peculiarities of this Rule could be explained by its heretical background, are all of them historically unwarrantable assumptions. The truth is, cenobitism, as opposed to the asceticism of isolated individual ascetics or that of small unorganized groups, cannot be proved to have existed in Galicia before *ca.* 550, when with royal support it was introduced into the Suevic kingdom by the eastern monk Martin of Braga. Martin founded the *monasterium Dumiense* near Braga, and perhaps some other houses, presumably organizing them along normal oriental lines; but his cenobitism made little headway, and it was not until the following century, with Fructuosus of Braga (*ca.* 615/20—*ca.* 660), that a widespread, popular monastic movement swept over the province. By *ca.* 660, furthermore, for reasons that cannot be entered into here, Galician monasticism was abandoning certain basic institutions of orthodox monasticism and embarking upon a singular period of radical experimentation in the organization and government of the monastic community. The individual *professio* charter was replaced, or at least supplemented, by the group covenant-profession, variously called *pactum*, *sacramentum*, or *iuramenta* (*Reg. Mon. Com.*, cc. i, xviii); and this brought with it free election of abbots, as against the episcopal appointment normal to Visigothic monasticism and sanctioned in c. li of the council of IV Toledo (633), and diminution in varying degree of the abbot's authority. It entailed also a marked rise of chronic internal controversy among the now more or less

⁴² On Galician monasticism before 711, see Herwegen; Pérez de Urbel, *Monjes Españoles*, I, pp. 183-93; 377-450; and C. J. Bishko, "Spanish monasticism in the Visigothic period," *Harvard University, Summaries of Ph. D. Theses*, 1937 (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 126-9.

equalitarian monks, weakening of the monastic ideal of *stabilitas*, and frequent withdrawals from monasteries by dissatisfied monks (*Reg. Mon. Com.*, cc. i, ii, xviii and xx, and the *pactum*). Furthermore, although perhaps due as much to contemporary property concepts as to internal weakness, all these Galician houses suffered from violent attacks by kinsfolk of disgruntled monks, often resulting in a monastery's destruction and the loss of its temporal (*Reg. Mon. Com.*, cc. i and xviii, and the *pactum*).

Into this world of contractual, equalitarian, unstable, and potentially short-lived monastic communities of post-650 the *CM* fits perfectly. It is, like the Fructuosan *pactum* and the *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. i, *sacramentum* or *iuramenta*, a group *professio*; and like them it incorporates a tradition of non-episcopal institution of abbots, weakened abbatial authority, internal disorders, chronic secessions, and familial attacks. Just where the consensorial community stands with relation to these other types of Galician monastery is less clear. It was Herwegen's proposal that the *CM* might be the *pactum* of the type of monastery attacked in *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. i; but there are certain objections to this otherwise attractive identification. The difference in title is of some importance, even though the *Reg. Mon. Com.* might contemptuously stigmatize a *consensoria monachorum* as a mere *sacramentum* or *iuramenta*. The *CM*'s silence about the wives, children, and serfs taken into the *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. i, monasteries by the landowners who established them, is noteworthy; such houses would have to be double monasteries, and certain questions of servile manumission *sub modo* would arise. These are problems their covenant might logically be expected to treat. Again, the *CM*'s preservation in collections of Rules almost certainly put together in the late seventh century by monks of the *Reg. Mon. Com.* tradition indicates amicable relations between the latter and consensorial monachism, not the acrid hostility of *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. i. Nor do we gain much by associating the *CM* with the presbyteral monasteries also denounced by the *Reg. Mon. Com.* in c. ii, for these were not of group origin and undoubtedly had in their presbyter-abbots stronger rulers than the consensorial *doctor*.

A more fruitful line of inquiry into the precise connections of the *CM* is suggested by the two short texts that follow it in

MS Escorial Lat. a. I. 13, fols. 51^v-52^r. These have been published by Antolín under the titles (*De caritate fraterna*) and (*De poenitentia?*).⁴³ The first of these, rubricated in the MS as c. xxvi of the *Reg. S. Isid.*, is an impassioned plea for the abandonment of internal disputes in monastic houses, the unknown author arguing that those who have given up family, home, and wealth ought not to allow personal quarrels and animosities to destroy communal harmony. The second piece, without rubric or, more probably, included under the preceding rubric, deals with penitential discipline in cases of murder, adultery, and perjury. It insists that penance for such sins is to be determined by the bishop, not the priest; presents a list (*censum penitentiae*) of seven money commutations (in *solidi*); and declares penitents are to remain under the authority of a judge or abbot, depending obviously on whether or not they have entered monasteries (cf. *Reg. Mon. Com.*, c. xix: *Quid in monasterio debeant observare qui peccata graviora in saeculo commiserint*). Both these texts have significant links with the *CM* and probably come from the same locale. The appeal for internal concord strikes at a major *CM* problem; and the use of *doctor* for *abbas*, as noted above, parallels *CM*, c. v. The Biblical citations are mixed OL-Vulg., with a perceptibly stronger Vulg. inclination than the *CM*, although this may be due partly to the hieronymizing tendencies of *B*. There is even an apparently apocryphal citation, beginning *non poterat loqui*, in the first piece. Until we know something about the origin of the probably Irish-inspired Galician penitential system, the establishment of which in the province hardly antedates 650, the chronological data of these two texts cannot be fully exploited. But if they do have the same provenance as the *CM*, they prove that the houses using the latter were closely associated with the episcopate and the parochial system, which in turn shows that such houses, maintaining relations with what the *Reg. Mon. Com.* (cc. i-ii) would call an *episcopus saecularis*, stood outside the limits of the *Reg. Mon. Com.* monastic federation of Fructuosan and allied houses in the so-called *sancta communis regula*.

Further study of Galician monasticism in the latter half of the seventh century will be needed before all the institutional

⁴³ *Ciudad de Dios*, LXXV (1908), pp. 314-16.

problems, and the precise monastic, ecclesiastical, and secular connections of the *CM* can be fully understood. For the present, it need only be concluded that the current identification is completely misleading; and that the work properly belongs in the Late Visigothic period of Galician literature, between 650 and 711. So understood, it constitutes a new and important source for the history of Spanish monasticism on the eve of the Muslim invasion.

CHARLES JULIAN BISHKO.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

ANCIENT TOWN ARCHITECTURE AND THE NEW MATERIAL FROM OLYNTHUS.

The appearance of each new volume of Professor David M. Robinson's *Excavations at Olynthus* is something of an event for our studies of ancient town-planning and architecture and makes us re-examine all our ideas in that field of research. That is not least true about part XII, published in 1946 together with 158 selected *testimonia* about Greek houses (pp. 399-452), a reference list of Greek words concerned with houses, and a bibliography on Greek domestic architecture.¹ Olynthus, fourth century Colophon—now easily studied in L. B. Holland's excellent publication in *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), pp. 91 ff.—, Priene, the megaron (Oecus) house of Priene type at Asea,² Delos, and scattered remains in S. Russia and in the Greek and Hellenistic world, afford us the Greek material to be compared with Pompeii and Ostia on Italic ground. Together with Priene, Olynthus thanks to Robinson's work and publications vies with those Italic sites in the complete survey that it offers us. This comparison on the other hand also reveals important differences. Olynthus had a very short history, founded, as it was, by the Chalcidians in the 5th century and destroyed by Philip of Macedonia 349/8 B. C. Even if sometimes more careful studies of stratification might have been desirable, Robinson has proved beyond question that the remains, excavated by him, belong in their entirety to this century.³ That gives a fixed point of outstanding value in the history of architecture and in some cases in the history of art too, as shown for instance by the study of the Asclepius statuette in Block B VI and its type. The town as it lies revealed to us by the stone foundations of its mostly unplastered mud brick houses, its τοῖχοι πῆλιννοι (for instance: Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, XI, cf. *Cato maior*, IV), can be regarded almost as a homogeneous creation. That is especially true of the regular planning of the main part of the town in marked contrast to the S. Hill, with its crowded shops, work-shops, and dwellings of the

¹ *Excavations at Olynthus*, XII: *Domestic and Public Architecture* (Baltimore, 1946) (*The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, No. 36).

² E. Holmberg, "The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia," *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, XI (Lund, 1944), pp. 147 ff.

³ Cf. *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 84, 186, 225, 236, 264, 283, 295, 351.

proletariat around the old "civic centre." From one point of view this makes Olynthus less interesting than Ostia and especially Pompeii with their old history and all the traces of long development in the town plan. On the other hand Olynthus, with its uniform checkerboard plan, its streets crossing at right angles, and carefully-calculated rectangular blocks, provides a most striking specimen of Greek rational town-planning of the 5th century B. C. The ideas of the age of Hippodamus lie before us in the strongest possible contrast to towns which grew without control and rational planning, such as Athens remained in spite of all the new architectural ideas (Dicaearchus, 140), or as *Vetus Roma* appears in the descriptions of Cicero (*De leg. agr.*, II, 96), Livy (V, 55), Diodorus (XIV, 116), and even Tacitus: *artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit* (*Ann.*, XV, 38).⁴ We see in Olynthus the other extreme, a fine example of the classical Greek creations that were destined to influence all later town-planning of European style.

The comparison with Rome is important also from a quite different point of view. In the same centuries in which Olynthus flourished, our material permits us to trace a fundamentally different system in Rome. The old Italic towns obviously—whether regular or not—consisted of rows of shops (*ἐργαστήρια*, *tabernae*) used as stores, workshops or dwellings for the proletariat (as still in old quarters of Italian towns), and interspersed *domus* with *atria*, belonging to the nobility. The Romans early started to build upper stories above their *tabernae*, thus gradually developing the principles of the typical domestic architecture of the late Republican and Imperial age with rows of *tabernae* along the streets and above them upper stories, accessible by straight, direct stairs. This system is to be seen in Rome, in Ostia, and on the Forma Urbis. This system started to influence Pompeii even in Sulla's time and is still alive in old Italian, French, and Swiss towns as a time-honoured tradition.⁵ The tendency of such

⁴ Especially Cicero (*loc. cit.*) and the very remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum reveal something of the same contrast between old, crowded Rome and Italic towns, which early in their history got more or less complete regular planning of Greek type. Sulla obviously made some efforts, but at least in Tacitus' eyes only with Nero real, regular town-planning reached Rome. It is interesting to see that Ostia outside the Castrum, though rebuilt in Imperial times, kept the old irregular planning.

⁵ G. Calza, "Contributi alla storia della edilizia Romana," *Palladio*,

a town is to fuse trade-, production-, and residential-quarters, by means of rather high tenement houses with shops on the ground-floor, in contrast to towns with separate bazaar-quarters and residential quarters. There is in the tradition of Roman domestic architecture something that reminds us of Plutarch's words about Numa Pompilius (Λυκούργου καὶ Νομᾶ σύγκρισις, II) : καὶ μὴν τῆς τε διατάξεως καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων ὁχλικὴ μὲν ἀκράτως ἢ τοῦ Νομᾶ καὶ θεραπευτικὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐκ χρυσοκόων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σκυτοτόμων συμμιγῇ τινα καὶ παμπούκλον ἀποφαίνοντος δῆμον. All this, most obviously, was an organic outcrop of the irresistible growth of the Roman *plebs*, which we usually regard rather from the point of view of legions or even city walls.

The Greek and Hellenistic towns were—as far as we can see—fundamentally different. There is no trace of the Roman *insulae* with their shops on the ground floor. The high Hellenistic tenement houses were high tower-like constructions without *tabernae*, to judge from the clay models from Alexandria (cf. Strabo, 753 about Arados and 757 about Tyros). As still in oriental towns production and trade were concentrated in bazaar-quarters, separated from the residential parts of the town. An ancient map showing broadly the main types of the Mediterranean towns would be similar to a map of the 19th or even 20th century with the same striking contrast between the towns of the Latin countries and those of the Orient.

Olynthus proves this. Carefully as always in his interpretation of the houses Robinson points out that shops are to be found in the residential quarters, though they are not common.⁶ But a most typical feature is the cluster of shops and workshops around the civic centre on the South Hill (pp. 272 ff.). There we see the bazaar-quarter in clear contrast to the regular residential quarters with few if any shops. We may compare Priene, where shops thronged around the ἀγορά and the main street, or even old Pompeii, before shops were opened right and left of the vestibules

V (1941), pp. 1 ff. A. Boëthius, "Appunti sul carattere razionale e sull' importanza dell' architettura domestica di Roma imperiale," *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* (Rome, 1937), pp. 21 ff. "Den romerska hyreshusarkitekturen," *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, 1944: 4 ("Roman tenement architecture, its local tradition and system." With an English summary).

⁶ For instance: Block B VI, p. 149; cf. pp. 115, 158; 161, 165 (house of Zoilos), section O, p. 266.

of the atrium houses. This distribution of trade and workshops all over the town—not to speak of *insulae* like the Terme del foro of the time of Sulla—no doubt was due to the influence of the Italic social system, in contrast to old Pompeii with the shops concentrated around the Forum and in the main thoroughfares. Anyhow, we see this latter system nowhere more clearly than at Olynthus with its crowd of shops around the “civic centre” on the South Hill. It gives us a *point d'appui*, when we try to distinguish between Greek and Italic urban traditions. Roman domestic architecture, especially the *domus*, obviously acquired many Hellenistic elements and probably even in archaic times Greek elements (peristyles, columns, decoration of the *atria*, etc.).⁷ But a Greek town like Olynthus at once makes us understand that the whole system was different and that Italian towns had aims and scopes of their own. The populous quarters of late Republican or Imperial Rome can never be understood, if taken as copies of Hellenistic towns. Olynthus is an excellent aid to the understanding of that.

It also helps us in another way to see the special course of development in the crowded, overflowing quarters of the Roman *plebs*. It is not only a matter of standardizing a local and spontaneous kind of building to what we see in 2nd century, brick-covered Ostia. It was not less a question of technique. The houses of Olynthus were obviously rather low and built of mud brick. Vitruvius, praising Greek methods of building and abusing Roman concrete (*structura caementicia*), defends adobe even in great palaces (II, 8, 9 ff.). Dio Cassius (XXXIX, 61), Sue-

⁷ P. Harsh, “The origins of the *insulae* at Ostia,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XII (1935), pp. 7 ff., traces also in the Roman *insulae*-architecture a Hellenistic feature in the central courts of the *insulae* like the Casa di Diana in Ostia (type IV in my classification, palazzo di tutti in Calza's, cf. note 5). No doubt these courts or light wells transfer the traditions of the Greek peristyle courts to the *insulae* (cf. P. Grimal, “Les jardins Romains,” *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes e de Rome*, CLV [Paris, 1943], pp. 217 ff.). So far their Greek origin is evident. But we should remark that they appear in the *insulae* with typically Roman axial disposition and symmetry, that is reshaped by the Italic traditions and by no means directly imported from the East, cf. A. Boëthius, “Die Atriumhäuser und ihr Nachlass in der kaiserzeitlichen Palastarchitektur,” *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, IV (*Opuscula archaeologica*, I, Lund, 1935), pp. 182 ff.

tonius (*Aug.*, 28), and other *testimonia* show that mud brick still occurred in the Rome of the first century A. D. But on the other hand primitive concrete constructions with volcanic mortar and chips of tufa obviously belonged to the stock of native arts of building in Italy. In the intense building activity of late Republican Rome, concrete was more and more used for monumental buildings and rather high tenement houses (Vitruvius, II, 8, 17). Concrete enabled the Romans to turn their unstable tenement architecture, with upper stories piled up on top of the *tabernae*, into the solid *insulae* of late Republican and Imperial Rome, *egregiae sine inpeditione habitationes* in Vitruvius' words (*loc. cit.*). Here is another point where Greek and Italic architecture diverge, and we trace behind the Italic tradition, as always, the *civium infinita multitudo* and the need of *innumera-biles habitationes* (Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*) in Rome. Again, Olynthus, with its mud brick architecture and its houses with little-developed upper stories (*Olynthus*, XII, pp. 231, 226, 380), makes us realize the fundamental differences between East and West at an early stage of the development. Again we see in the ancient Mediterranean world—in spite of Hellenistic "skyscrapers" especially emphasized as an exception in our sources—the same difference in general between the lowly architecture in the widely-extended towns of the East and the rather concentrated Western towns with their tradition of high tenement houses with shops—as in mediaeval and later times.

In the straight streets and in the regular blocks of Olynthus we meet with only one type of house, amply described over and over again in the Olynthus publication and in the reviews, of which there is a list, pp. 472 ff.⁸ Robinson (especially p. 126 and *passim*) carefully notes variations of plan, but the main type of building remains the same all over the residential quarters. As a rule the houses have their entrance on the southern long side. Longitudinally through the house runs a corridor, parallel with the front street (i. e. East-West), which

⁸We have to add now especially P. Fraccaro's fine review in *Athenaeum*, N. S. XXV (1947), pp. 105 ff., Jotham Johnson's article in *C. J.*, 1947, pp. 91 ff. with its broad views and appreciation of the importance of the Olynthian material for "The Study of Man," and John H. Kent's review in *C. P.*, XLII (1947), pp. 199 ff., which is critical and useful but which fails to bring to the non-specialist the really great importance of Robinson's discoveries.

divides the house into a north and a south part. The northern part contained the main rooms and carried the upper story, if such was added. In the centre of the southern part of the house was a court. The corridor was left open to this court with some three or four columns in the wide opening. The court could also be transformed into a peristyle. As Robinson pointed out in part VIII of his publication (pp. 147 ff.), this type of house is known also from other places, but the fact that it was exclusively adopted, when Olynthus was built, is most interesting. There is, so far as I can see, not a single trace to be found in Olynthus of the other main, highly traditional house-type, the *megaron-oecus* type, described by Vitruvius, VI, 7, 1 ff. as *gynaeconitis* and best known from Priene (here referred to as the "Priene-house"); the Greek peristyle-houses reveal themselves in Olynthus only by the colonnades around the courts of rich houses, which were probably inspired by that type of structure. The exclusive use of different house-types in Olynthus on the one hand and Priene on the other is something of a riddle—not less than the fact that the combination of *gynaeconitis* (*megaron-oecus* type) and peristyle, described by Vitruvius, VI, 7, 3 ff. is still lacking in our archaeological material. Olynthus shows anyhow that the "Olynthian type" of house not less than the "Priene type" (= Vitruvius' *gynaeconitis* = *megaron-oecus*) was very influential in the 5th and 4th centuries. It is indeed remarkable that, without the archaeological material, we should not have known about the Olynthus type at all. Our literary sources seldom enable us to discern whether they refer to "Priene-houses" or "Olynthian houses," and never give a clear description of the latter type, as far as I am able to see by analyzing Robinson's "*testimonia*" and other evidence. Olynthus, in other words, has provided us with new knowledge, revealing what our other sources—because their descriptions are so general—do not permit us to see. Its architectural uniformity is a limitation but it also emphasizes the importance of a type of Greek domestic architecture, which has hitherto been almost completely hidden.

And—leaving now the comparative studies to which Professor Robinson's ample volumes invite—how much knowledge about Greek town-life do not the Olynthus volumes give us, in other directions also! Thucydides' famous words in the funeral speech of Pericles: *ιδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέειν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπερὸν ἐκπλήσσει* acquire a commentary from the scattered

remains of luxury (plates 30 ff., 84, 170 ff., above all 186 f., 191, 200, 209 ff., 218), stuccoes and colours (plate 114, 167, pp. 192 f., 222, 232, 248, 261, etc.). Exceedingly interesting are the pebble mosaics. Robinson deals with this most important discovery in an ample excursus (pp. 323 ff.) with three coloured plates. He emphasizes rightly the value of these—probably the oldest—specimens of Greek mosaics, explains their technique, gives a full interpretation of their patterns and proves their close connections with Attic red-figured vases of the late 5th century. Robinson is also convincing when he compares the figures of the mosaics with sculpture and adduces parallels to the lettering of the inscriptions, while the complicated question (p. 337) about Greek painting and textile art and possible influence on the mosaics from the latter naturally remains open. Some good references to literary sources also are to be found in Robinson's rich commentary. These mosaics are far the best proofs that we have of luxury in Greek private houses. The archaeological evidence from Olynthus has to be classed with the already quoted words of Thucydides,⁹ with the prosperous homes in Plato's dialogues, with the extravagances of Alcibiades,¹⁰ with the costly furniture to be seen on Greek vase paintings, and with Demosthenes' statement in the 3rd Olynthian speech (29), that some Athenians had private houses which were more sumptuous than the official buildings of the state. We can add also, for instance, the tombs of the Mustapha Pasha-necropolis in Alexandria¹¹ and what they permit us to conclude about Greek homes in the Egypt of the Ptolemies, or the houses of Delos. All this material shows us the Greek tradition of interior decoration and luxury, which we later on meet with on Italic soil in Pompeii and Herculaneum, though—as it seems—enriched in the Hellenistic world and reshaped, as far as the planning is concerned, by the special demands of the Italic house types. In this field the legacy from the Hellenic and Hellenistic towns is the obvious starting point for late Republican and Imperial development.

⁹ II, 38. Cf. II, 65: οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ (ἐλυποῦντο) καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν <ἐν> οἰκοδομαῖς τε καὶ πολυτελεῖσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες.

¹⁰ Cf. also *I. G.*, I, suppl. p. 178, n. 277 d = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 102, the process against the *hermacopidae*; Andocides, *Alcibiades*, 17; Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 147.

¹¹ A. Adriani, "La nécropole de Moustafa Pacha," *Annuaire du musée gréco-romain*, 1933/4, 1934/5 (Alexandria, 1936), pp. 71 ff.

Choosing from among the numerous smaller observations, of which Robinson's volumes are full, those which seem especially important for later development, we have to note the base to be found in the court of Block B VI (pp. 115, 156, plate 130). It has a stone core with burned brick all around it and does prove that the Olynthians understood the value of burned brick, though the Greeks—even Vitruvius, II, 8, 19—obviously never got over the difficulties summarized by Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*, and therefore unlike the Romans never succeeded in making any extensive use of fired brick. Robinson's observation gives a background to, for instance, the brick-covered columns of the basilica of Pompeii and other early, sparse, and sporadic instances of burned brick in late Republican architecture in Italy.

One architectural type of quite special interest is the "Stoa Type Assembly Hall" (A. IV. 10) with beautiful Doric capitals (pp. 82 ff., plates 66 ff.). Robinson's interpretation—for which he refers to William A. McDonald's useful book *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (1943)—seems certain, as does the date (last quarter of fifth century); the suggested connection of the synoecism of the Chalcidians with Olynthus is most probable. A market hall, no doubt, would have had one long side open to the public. The building had a row of columns in the center. This feature is—as Robinson rightly explains—by no means surprising in a Greek assembly hall. It was among the boasts of the Romans and the triumphs of their technical skill that they were able to construct large roofs without supports (Cassius Dio, LV, 8, 3; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 102). Very likely there were Hellenistic predecessors to these wooden fore-runners and competitors of the glories of the Roman vaults, but, evidently, the Greeks of the Hellenic period did not yet mind the view in their halls being obstructed by columns. Thus no doubt in addition to the older Assembly hall of the "civic centre" on the South Hill (of which Robinson gives a new restoration, plate 246) the excavation of the residential quarters of Olynthus has afforded us a new specimen of a classical Greek council chamber.

Robinson is very detailed, sometimes perhaps even somewhat verbose, in presenting his vast material. Some slips and errors have been pointed out. Compared with the wealth of new knowledge in every volume of the Olynthus publication almost all of these criticisms seem to me to be of minor importance. There is only one point where I feel that criticism is unavoidable and can

be really constructive in a more fundamental way. It seems necessary to use greater philological care in comparing or identifying archaeological material, classical texts, and ancient terms. In that respect there are many loose suggestions and hasty conclusions to question in the Olynthus volumes. From one point of view it is of course quite justifiable to try to unite new facts and old words. On the other hand it would be very much deserving of blame, if we should allow this splendid new material to be followed by a wave of uncritical or at least not fully proved terms and identifications, thus causing confusion and unnecessary trouble. "The Stoa Type Assembly Hall" is oblong (about $19 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ metres). To me it seems almost misleading, when Robinson comments on this simple fact by referring to Vitruvius' prescription for square (*quadratae*) and oblong (*oblongae*) *curiae* in Italy with their quite special traditions (V, 2). "The only ancient description"—Robinson continues (p. 88)—"of such a 'stoa type' Assembly Hall building agrees with this." He means Pausanias' description of the Phokikon (X, 5, 1-2), with its columns set along its length. But nobody can tell if the Phocian hall—as McDonald (*loc. cit.*, pl. XVII) alternatively suggests—like the Assembly hall of the "civic centre" on the South Hill at Olynthus had two rows of interior columns or only one row. To me the former alternative, and seats parallel with the columns (as in the Roman *curia*), seem more likely. In any case Pausanias' words about the Phokikon have very little of value to add to our understanding of the Olynthian "Stoa Type Assembly Hall" and may mislead us about the Phokikon. As I ventured to say in my review of *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII (A. J. P., LXI [1940], p. 237) the various Greek house-types have so many common features that it is difficult as a rule (I would say) to see in short ancient descriptions which type is referred to. We should be very careful about hasty conclusions on this subject, knowing that houses of the Olynthus type, "Priene-houses," and peristyle houses can occur everywhere. In the Olynthus publication there is a tendency to claim for the Olynthian houses testimonies which as a matter of fact are, and probably will remain, ambiguous (or even clearly belong to other types). Very often only common features are mentioned. Very often, too, rooms had the same names in the different types of house. To quote George E. Mylonas in his *Excursus II to Olynthus*, XII, p. 384,

the word *oikos* for instance "in ancient Greece as in modern was used very loosely." That is no doubt true of many Greek architectural terms, as was very well pointed out by G. Downey in his excellent study "On some post-classical Greek architectural terms" in *T. A. P. A.*, LXXVII (1946), especially pp. 26 ff. Therefore even if we can ascertain the name of a room in for instance a house in Olynthus, we should by no means be justified in assuming Olynthus type for all houses where in our sources that same name happens to be used, and force upon them an interpretation based on the evidence from Olynthus. If—in addition—we start to make lists of modern archaeologists' hypothetical applications of Greek architectural terms and base our reasoning on them, a spider's web of loose arguments and appearances will confuse the whole discussion. Mylonas has in his *Excursus*, just mentioned, added to Robinson's publication a most useful and thorough examination of a common group of rooms in the houses of Olynthus, composed of three parts: of a large room, a narrower chamber, and a bath. He calls this "the oecus unit of the Olynthian house," and explains its use very well, partly with convincing and amusing modern parallels. Very interesting is Mylonas' reconstruction of the second stories and the flues. Mylonas shows (pp. 383 ff.) that the large room of the "oecus unit" was the most important work-room and living room of the house, the rooms *in quibus*, to quote Vitruvius' description of the *gynaecoonitis* of his Greek house (= the "Priene house"), VI, 7, 2, *matres familiarum cum lanificis habent sessionem*. In the *Odyssey*, VI and VII, obviously the same traditional type of Greek house, which Vitruvius (—as we know from Olynthus—inaccurately) designates as the only one, determines as an underlying and basic conception the fanciful description of the palace of Alcinous, in spite of all its added recollections of Oriental palaces of the 8th and following centuries, like the palace of Hama excavated by Danish scholars. There Odysseus—in Nausicaa's words (VI, 305 ff.)—has to go through the megaron right up to the Queen:

ἡ δ' ἦσται ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν πυρὸς ἀγῆ,
 ἡλάκατα στροφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
 κίονι κεκλιμένη· δμῶαί δέ οἱ εἶατ' ὀπισθεν.

There is an obvious Homeric flavour in Vitruvius' description of his *oecus magnus*, the late descendant of the megaron.

To return from the use to the type and name of the large living room of the Olynthian "oecus unit," it was very likely called *oikos*. We know from the description of Vitruvius, just quoted, that the main room of the "Priene houses" was styled so, and it seems only reasonable to think, with Robinson and Mylonas, that such was the case also in the Olynthian houses, though their general planning was different. In any case it is not possible to prove it. Mylonas tries all the same (p. 385) to throw doubt upon the prevailing interpretation of Vitruvius' Greek house (VI, 7, 1 ff.) as a "Priene house." On this point the present writer must join issue. Even if we could strictly prove that the main room of the "oecus unit" was called *oikos* (as it very likely was), that would not prove anything at all about the planning of Vitruvius' *gynaecoonitis*, where the main room actually is styled the *oecus magnus*. Mylonas seems to hint at such a possibility—though emphasizing how loosely the Greeks used their architectural terms and of course knowing that the same name may easily be used in different types of houses. What most evidently connects Vitruvius' *gynaecoonitis* with the "Priene house" is the unit of peristyle-court, *prostatas* or *pastas* (*Hic locus apud nonnullos prostatas, apud alios pastas nominatur*), and *oecus*. "Whether or not the '*oeci magni*' were also connected with the '*prostatas*' is not specified," argues Mylonas after admitting that they were to be found "near the court" and "in the inner part of the house." By this remark Mylonas obviously tries to invalidate the identification of Vitruvius' Greek house (*gynaecoonitis*) with megaron houses of the type described (in their archaic grandeur) in the *Odyssey* and to be seen in Priene, Colophon, Asea. This is indeed an effort (*in maiorem gloriam Olynthi?*), which only causes unnecessary trouble, and seems void of philological accuracy. Vitruvius' text is absolutely clear. He first describes the peristyle. At its upper north side (*quae spectat ad meridiem*) is the *pastas* or *prostatas* (as I pointed out in my review of *Olynthus*, VIII, loc. cit., p. 237, we should remember that the words *pastas* and *prostatas* were used promiscuously). Hereabouts (*in his locis*), towards the inner side, is a large hall (*oeci magni*, distributive sense of the plural!). Right and left of the *prostatas*, Vitruvius resumes, returning to the peristyle, are the bedchambers, etc. That this very clear description cannot be combined with the "oecus units" and their

position in the Olynthian houses is evident. Equally evident is the fact that it fits in every detail with the houses of Priene type. It seems useful to add a reference to the strictly philological interpretation by E. Wistrand, a specialist on Vitruvius' language, and the graphical presentation of his results in a study of the houses of the Greeks and the Romans in *Eranos*, XXXVII (1939), pp. 21 ff.

To sum up, what we need and must demand is on the one hand a clear archaeological description without any preconceptions caused by hasty and premature glances at the sources. Mylonas' archaeological analysis of the "oecus unit" can in this respect serve as a model. On the other hand rigorous and thorough, strictly philological interpretation of the texts, like for instance Downey's study (*loc. cit.*), is necessary. After that free endeavours to identify are just as much wanted and necessary, but it seems indeed to be both wise and scholarly not to use hypothetical and uncertain results in our terminology. Many have sinned in this respect. Modern descriptive names are decidedly to be preferred to the use of ancient terms, if they suggest an identification which as a matter of fact is not fully established and arrived at. A general revision of our archaeological terminology according to these principles is in my opinion necessary, and the sooner it is done the better.

Anybody who takes up that task will at once feel the fundamental importance of Professor Robinson's work in Olynthus. The same is true of any other research work in the field of Greek town architecture. It is the main aim and scope of these observations to show what great consequences the excavations at Olynthus carry with them for the general history of ancient town architecture also. Even a hasty attempt to draw broad outlines and see the residential quarters and the South Hill of Olynthus in connection with them seems to elucidate in a most striking way the new situation created by the publications from Olynthus and thus, perhaps better than a survey of facts known from previous volumes and reviews or criticism of details, illustrate their weight and significance.

AXEL BOËTHIUS.

AENEAS AND THE TRADITION OF THE NATIONAL HERO.

Aeneas differs from Achilles and Odysseus, critics are agreed,¹ mainly in that he represents a specifically Roman ideal, disciplined and institutionalized in consonance with the spirit of the Augustan age, whereas the Homeric heroes represent poetic truth of more universal validity. Yet Aeneas possesses authentic heroic stature in infinitely greater degree than do the merely literary figures of Virgil's nearer predecessor in epic, Apollonius Rhodius, whose Jason exhibits neither national character nor individual prowess, except in the lists of love.² Aeneas is furthermore not only far more central but also far more dominant in his poem than are Jason, Odysseus, Achilles in theirs. Though his Greek predecessors are perhaps more admirable, from a literary point of view, because they are more nearly free agents and less under the constraint of manifest destiny, Aeneas, because he is a disciplined instrument of destiny, acquires the aspect of a symbol, which tends to separate him from ordinary humanity. Through Silvius he is the ancestor of the Alban kings and of Romulus; through Iulus of the Julian *gens*.³ Not only as the founder of these two great lines, but as the parent of the Roman people (who are sometimes called *Aeneadae*: cf. *Aeneid*, VIII, 648), Aeneas must have within him all the virtues which his descendants inherit. In a word, the *Aeneid* possesses the character of hagiographa which its rivals in epic do not. The story demands attention not only as literature but as patriotism raised to a religion. The contemporary history of Livy possesses something of the same character of hagiographa,⁴ but there seem to be no close analogues in earlier classical literature. Even

¹ The distinction is clearly made in W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil*³ (Oxford, 1897), chs. IX and X; its influence upon the character of the *Aeneid* is admirably treated in Mark Van Doren, *The Noble Voice* (New York, 1946), pp. 86-121. On Aeneas as the bearer of a mission see also T. Haecker, *Vergil* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 80-89.

² Cf. my "The Tradition of a Feeble Jason," *C.P.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 166-168.

³ Discussed by H. T. Rowell in *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), p. 273.

⁴ Cf. my "Livy as Scripture," *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 445-456.

in the case of full divinities we must go back to certain of the *Homeric Hymns* and to Sappho's *Aphrodite* for genuine reverence for a central figure and its story; Callimachus has no more real respect for his deities than does Ovid. Patriotic appreciation of national values finds frequent expression, of course, especially when those values are being challenged, as in Greek speeches to Persians in Herodotus and in Pericles' Funeral Oration in Thucydides, in a play like Euripides' *Andromache*, in Isocrates and in Demosthenes. But nowhere, apparently, do we find a single character raised to a superhuman stature and in effect canonized as subsuming and symbolizing the national character and aspirations.

The nationalism of the *Aeneid* and the exaltation of Aeneas can be sufficiently explained on the basis of Roman mores and traditions and of the political atmosphere of the Augustan age. Seldom has a generation been so clearly aware of a transition in its own history. Rome had emerged from the terrible ordeal of continuous civil war which had threatened body and spirit, and release and enlargement issued in a surge of proud national consciousness. The impulse to examine and glorify the national heritage received official encouragement; the *Aeneid* itself is the product of this impulse, and we need look no further than the immediate situation and accumulated Roman tradition to explain its divergences from the Greek norm. But there are in fact curious parallels to Aeneas' position in the *Aeneid* in remoter literatures, and even if these parallels did not influence Virgil they are worth glancing at as illustrating Virgil's art and a recurrent human urge.

Men grow sensitive to the values of their national traditions and come to cherish them not only in periods of enlargement, like the Augustan or Elizabethan, but even more when the survival of those traditions is threatened, and most intensely when nationality itself is lost. The wistful loyalty evoked by threatened extinction tends to find expression in the examination and glorification of national traditions to an even greater degree than does the proud consciousness of national success. Expression of loyalty to national traditions is therefore to be sought at periods when a great imperial power tends to erase national distinctions and impose its own culture. In the articulate civilization of the Mediterranean such periods followed the conquests of Alexander

the Great and then of Rome itself. The classic response to the challenge of foreign domination may best be illustrated, I think, in the life and works of Plutarch, whose whole career was devoted to raising Hellenism to a cult which could survive under the rule of Rome.⁵ Though he might have enjoyed wealth and fame in Rome he returned to small Chaeronea "so that it might not become even smaller" (*Demosthenes*, 2, 2), he held a petty local magistracy for all his cosmopolitanism, and a priesthood of an obsolescent shrine for all his philosophy, he discoursed on philosophy, mathematics, and music to the provincial youth, because to do these things was to serve the cult of Hellenism. He wrote the *Lives* not to introduce Greeks to Romans or Romans to Greeks but to show Greeks that their own past could boast statesmen and warriors (there was no need to press the point for artists and philosophers) that were easily comparable to those of their Roman masters. But none of the heroes of the *Lives*, it must be noticed, not even Alexander, is endowed with the peculiar sanctity of an Aeneas. Individuals are not made the sole responsible bearers of Hellenism. The nearest approach to such a function in the *Lives* is Lycurgus, and in the opening sentences of his *Life* Plutarch is careful to cast doubts on Lycurgus' historicity. It was only in Rome that highly individualized portraiture was fashionable, and only in Virgil's day could an individual be endowed with augustness.

But the east had a different tradition. The enormously prolific Alexander legend is itself proof of the persistent tendency to glorify a personal hero and make him the focus and bearer of national ideals and aspirations. The history of that legend illustrates first the amalgamation of individual traditions, their transformation, and then their fragmentation into peculiar variations. The period immediately following the conquests of Alexander, before his legends were amalgamated, is most relevant to our inquiry. Culture reached an unparalleled degree of external uniformity in the Hellenistic *oikoumene* as result of those conquests, but pride in disparate national traditions persisted, and among peoples whose political independence had been suppressed there was felt a need, bound up with motives of religion, to assert the antiquity and dignity of individual na-

⁵ Cf. my "The Religion of Plutarch," *Review of Religion*, VI (1942), pp. 270-282.

tional traditions against competing traditions, chiefly, of course, the dominant Greek. Books embodying national traditions were written very early in the Hellenistic period; the Babylonian Berossus dedicated his *Babyloniaca* to Antiochus I Soter, and Manetho, high priest at Heliopolis, his *Aegyptiaca* to Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is to such works as these, apparently, that a passage in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* (360 B) alludes: ⁶

However, mighty deeds of Semiramis are celebrated among the Assyrians, and mighty deeds of Sesostris in Egypt, and the Phrygians, even to this day, call brilliant and marvellous exploits "manic" because Manes, one of their very early kings, proved himself a good man and exercised a vast influence among them.

Extant remains of Berossus and Manetho ⁷ do not exhibit (but do not prove impossible) the glorification of individual national heroes such as the Plutarch passage would suggest. Accounts of Sesostris are so varied, indeed, that they could hardly all derive from a single work; the interesting thing is that many works must have made Sesostris a hero. For our purposes the best specimen is the *Ninus Romance*, probably written in the last century B. C., whose two considerable fragments indicate that it is a love story of the famous Semiramis and Ninus, the founder of Nineveh. ⁸ Here the affairs of a great national hero, highly idealized, are made the subject of fictional treatment. It may well be that the genus of Greek romances derives from such embellished treatment of historic national figures; Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, the earliest of our extant romances (about 150 A. D. or earlier), starts by introducing the heroine as the daughter of "Hermocrates, general of Syracuse, the one who defeated the Athenians." ⁹ In the earlier works individual heroes, apparently one for each people, out of a remote past

⁶ Martin Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford, 1938), p. 5, quotes this passage as "a suitable introduction, in which the hero-stories or hero-romances of several nations are enumerated." The translation is F. C. Babbitt's (Loeb).

⁷ There is now a good Loeb *Manetho*, by W. G. Waddell.

⁸ The fragments were first published by U. Wilcken in *Hermes*, XXVIII (1893), pp. 161-193; they are translated by S. Gaselee in an appendix to the Loeb *Daphnis and Chloe*.

⁹ The "historical" novel as the origin of Greek romance is discussed in R. M. Rattenbury, "Traces of Lost Greek Novels," in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, Third Series* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 211-219.

(the figures named were all ancient to Herodotus) were glorified in fanciful tales with numerous accretions of the miraculous, and these tales became a focus for cultural survival and lent their readers a pride in their past which helped them bear the rebuffs of the present.

Of all the literary efforts calculated to ensure the cultural survival of depressed minorities in the Hellenistic world we have most extensive remains and are best informed concerning those produced by the Jews, and especially by the Jewish community of Alexandria.¹⁰ We may note that the final response of the Jews (to ignore chronology for the moment) was identical with that of Plutarch. When Jerusalem was under its final siege by the Romans Johanan ben Zakkai, Plutarch's contemporary, spirited himself out of the city, collected a band of students at Jamnia, and set about transforming Judaism from a nationality to a way of life guided by a peculiar body of traditions. But in Alexandria from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus onwards Jews devoted themselves to producing a body of apologetic literature (of which the LXX itself may fairly be regarded as a specimen) calculated to demonstrate the antiquity and high merits of Jewish tradition. Most of this writing was in the category of "history," with a preponderant interest, significantly, in the career of Moses. In support of the claims of the historians certain works were falsely ascribed to well-known ancient names; of this class are Pseudo-Phocylides, Pseudo-Hecataeus, and the Jewish and Christian *Sibylline Oracles*. More germane to our present purpose are the frankly belletristic works, such as the epic of the Elder Philo and the tragedy on the Exodus of Ezekielos. In these again the figure of Moses seems to have loomed very large. The absence of a central character in a work like III Maccabees, which can only be read as a romance,¹¹ may be explained by the circumstance that Moses could naturally not be used in that story.

It would appear, then, that in parts of the Hellenistic world the impulse to assert and glorify national traditions, when comparisons compelled such assertion, was expressed by elaborating the character and career of a central figure of the nation's

¹⁰ A full and succinct treatment of this literature is O. Stählin, "Hellenistische-Jüdische Litteratur," in Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, II, 1 (Munich, 1920), pp. 535-656.

¹¹ I have treated of "III Maccabees and Greek Romance" in an article to appear in a forthcoming number of the *Review of Religion*.

remote history. But there is another factor which provides a curious parallel to the peculiar use which Virgil makes of Aeneas. A prime aim in the *Aeneid* is to communicate to its readers a sense that Rome's career is predestined and that its history in the years to come must take a certain direction. The reader is placed in the twelfth century, and prophecies from that vantage point which the reader knows to have been fulfilled create credit for other prophecies which refer to the actual future. I am myself regularly astonished at Dido's clairvoyance in the matter of the Punic wars (though my books tell me these wars were fought centuries before Virgil wrote), and so ready to believe that Virgil's other prophecies will be equally true. Now this technique, approximated in classical literature as far as I know only in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (and there only indifferently), is precisely the technique of the apocalypses. Daniel is a character of the Babylonian exile, but scholars can date the composition of Daniel in the Maccabean period to a month, at the point where "prophecies" left history—and proved wrong. Enoch, who is the hero of a whole group of apocalypses going back to the second century B. C., is a better example than Daniel, for "Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him" (Genesis 5, 24). He could therefore receive and transmit special revelations. Neither is the death of Aeneas told, which sets him apart from Homer's other Trojans of the first rank; and Aeneas too was the protégé of a powerful divinity. Our *Sibylline Oracles* are of later date and hence not conclusive evidence for the character of the oracles of the Capitoline; but oracles of the extant type may have existed earlier, perhaps in the spurious collections which Augustus had burned. The *Sibyllines* also employ the apocalyptic technique; the author places himself at some remote point of time, such as the Exodus from Egypt, and after foretelling certain recorded events proceeds to the prediction of the actual future.

Did Virgil realize the significance of the rejuvenated Sesostris and Semiramis and Ninus? Did he know of Moses or of Enoch? Heinze's monumental work on the techniques of the *Aeneid* says nothing of the apocalyptic pattern, and Norden's full treatment of Virgil's eschatological and cognate ideas in his great edition of *Aeneid VI* attempts to demonstrate that Virgil learned only from classical, not from oriental, apocalyptic.¹² Most of the prodigious

¹² Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI*² (Leipzig, 1916), p. 6.

literature on the *Fourth Eclogue*, which Professor DeWitt¹³ has well called "the first draft of the *Aeneid*," is at pains to find some source other than Scripture for Virgil's messianic ideas. But DeWitt quite reasonably thinks "it is more than possible" that Virgil knew the Jewish Scriptures, shows that he had ample opportunity to become familiar with Jewish ideas, and speaks of him as "living in a Palestinian atmosphere" on the Campanian coast where he sojourned.¹⁴ There is no difficulty in assuming that enough of the complex of such ideas, especially in their more striking forms, was in the air to make it probable that a man alert to such ideas, as Virgil certainly was, could learn from them. If Horace assumes that Jewish credulity is a matter of common knowledge,¹⁵ Virgil is the type of mind which would investigate the objects of that credulity.

We find then that in the face of his meticulous regard for classical precedents Virgil has presented the story of a "canonized" national hero, in a manner which is virtually unexampled in classical literature but which shows certain parallels to Hellenized oriental literature. In the present context Virgil's regard for precedent may provide arguments for divergent views. We may maintain that what has no precedent in the traditional classics must be derived from some other available source; or we may argue that Virgil would not have included matter utterly alien to tradition, and hence that the exalted hero and the apocalyptic pattern are normal developments of main-line Greco-Roman tradition. Similar causes may indeed have produced similar results independently. I myself regard it as no derogation of Greco-Roman tradition or of Virgil's genius to suppose that both received stimulation from the east.

MOSES HADAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

¹³ Norman W. DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria* (Toronto, 1923), p. 176. DeWitt's illuminating treatment of the subject of this paragraph, from which the quotations are drawn, is his ch. xvi, pp. 172-189.

¹⁴ Petronius could presume that his readers would recognize the locutions of Syrians and Jews on the Campanian coast: see my "Oriental Elements in Petronius," *A. J. P.*, L (1929), pp. 378-385.

¹⁵ *Credat Judaeus Apella, non ego: Serm.*, I, 5, 100. W. H. Alexander, "The Enigma of Horace's Mother," *C. P.*, XXXVII (1942), pp. 385-397, argues ingeniously that Horace's mother was a Jewess.

NOTES ON ATHENIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EMPIRE PERIOD.

I. TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS OF FOREIGNERS IN EPHEBE LISTS.

The ephebe lists of the Empire period differentiate citizens from foreigners through the following classification:

names with demotic	vs ξένοι	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1996 (84/5-92/3).
πολείται	vs Μειλήσιοι	
names with demotic	vs ἐπένγραφοι	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2017 (shortly after 102 A. D.); 2044 (139/40).
πρωτένγραφοι	vs ἐπένγραφοι	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2046 (shortly after 140 A. D.); 2068 (155/6).
οἱ ὑπόλοιποι τῶν πολειτῶν κατὰ φυλὴν ἔφηβοι	vs ἐπένγραφοι	<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2208 (212/3 or shortly after).

There are several lists in the first half of the second century A. D., however, which contain ἐπένγραφοι with demotics,¹ while we find instances in others where descendants of an ἐπένγραφος appear with a demotic.² While Augustus issued an edict forbidding the sale of Athenian citizenship,³ the ephebe inscriptions show that there was an opportunity extended to some foreigners to be listed under τῶν πολειτῶν κατὰ φυλὴν ἔφηβοι (*I. G.*, II², 2208). That this is a fact is evident from an analysis of two ephebe inscriptions, the conclusions to be drawn from which are applicable to the rest of the ephebe lists. A study of *I. G.*, II², 2097, dated in 169/70 brings out the following:

Tribe	<i>Ephebes in tribe listed</i>	
	<i>with demotic</i>	<i>without demotic</i>
Erechtheis	10	—
Aegeis	1	1
Pandionis	6	1
Leontis	9	—
Ptolemais	4	—
Akamantis	5	—
Hadrianis	5	—
Oeneis	5	1

¹ *I. G.*, II², 2033-5.

² Cf. *I. G.*, II², 2039 7n.

³ Dio Cassius, LIV, 7.

Kekropis	5	—
Hippothontis	8	1
Aiantis	7	—
Antiochis	5	1
Attalis	4	1
	—	—
Total	74	6

Ἐπείγγραφτοι: 152.

In this inscription we have a phenomenon which is found in very many other lists of the Empire period. The question arises as to the status of those ephebes who are listed without a demotic. The absence of the demotic suggests that the epheboi in this category are not Athenian citizens. It is more likely that they are foreigners who through friendship or family connexions have been given the privilege of enrolling with the ephebes of the tribe during their stay in Athens. They are privileged foreigners who enjoy all the privileges of the tribe except citizenship.

That these are ἐπείγγραφτοι enrolled *κατὰ φυλὰς* is made evident from a study of *I. G.*, II², 2051, dated between 144/5-148/9. This inscription, which takes the form of a shield, contains the ephebes listed *κατὰ φυλὰς*, some with and some without a demotic:

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Ephebes in tribe with demotic</i>	<i>Ephebes in tribe without demotic</i>
Erechtheis	2	3
Aegeis	2	3
Pandionis	2	3
Leontis	6	3
Ptolemais	4	3
Akamantis	2	2
Hadrianis	3	3
Oeneis	6	3
Kekropis	3	4
Hippothontis	4	4
Aiantis	3	3
Antiochis	5	3
Attalis	2	3
	—	—
Total	44	40

A very significant fact appears from the position of the epheboi without demotic. With the exception of one man (line 26) all of the ephebes without demotic are found listed at the end of their respective tribes. Since this inscription contains no ἐπείγ-

γραφοι it is apparent that the ἐπέγγραφοι are distributed κατὰ φυλάς, analogous to the Americans at Oxford who are distributed throughout the various colleges. This inscription not only corroborates the above suggestion, that the epheboi without demotic are ἐπέγγραφοι enrolled κατὰ φυλάς, but also shows that in the ephebe lists the foreigners are not limited to the category of Μιλήσιοι or ἐπέγγραφοι. They overflow into the tribes and the proportion of epheboi with demotic to epheboi without demotic in the tribe varies from inscription to inscription and period to period. In *I. G.*, II², 2097 (169/70), 92.5% of the epheboi are with demotic while 7.5% are without demotic, while in *I. G.*, II², 2245 (262/3 or 266/7) we have 10 epheboi with demotic while 305 without demotic are distributed κατὰ φυλάς and 50 are listed under the ἐπέγγραφοι. A study of the ephebe lists throughout the Empire period shows on the whole a greater proportion of foreigners to citizens with demotics, the proportion being particularly marked in the third century A. D.⁴

II. NAMES IN -ιος AND -ις.

The reading of the stone of *I. G.*, II², 6503 (*I. G.*, III, 1762) is Γάις Καρρείνας Διονυμήδης Κολλυτεύς (cf. Γάις, *I. G.*, II², 4815). In the publications of this inscription the name is restored as Γάι<ο>ς. On line 60 of *Hesperia*, XI (1942), no. 37, p. 72, the stone reads ΗΑΙΣ, yet the name is restored as Ἥλιξ (see remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 74). Both instances are examples of needless tampering. A study of names in -ιος and -ις in inscriptions of the Empire period shows that many names that normally ended in -ιος ended simply in -ις. Ἥλις, which is the more frequent form of Ἥλιος (cf. *I. G.*, II², 2160₁₈), appears also as Ἥλις in *I. G.*, II², 2097₃₀₈; 2166₁₂; 2208₁₂₀. Παράσις (*I. G.*, II², 2221₇₅) = Παρράσιος (*I. G.*, II², 2223₃₃). Δίκαις (*I. G.*, II², 2199₁₂₇) = Δίκαιος (*I. G.*, II², 1811₄). Φάβις (*I. G.*, II², 2068₁₈₂) = Φάβιος and not Φαβιανός as suggested by Kirchner. Ἀγήναις (*I. G.*, II², 2103₂₁₈) = Ἀγήναιος (*I. G.*, II², 2044₇₁). Λαβέρις (*I. G.*, II²,

⁴ The proportion of foreigners to citizens is small in *I. G.*, II², 1996 (84/5-92/3), 2017 (shortly after 102 A. D.), 2065 (150/1), 2103 (172/3); it is somewhat in balance in *I. G.*, II², 2046 (shortly before 140 A. D.), 2049 (142/3), 2050 (143/4 or 144/5); it is larger in *I. G.*, II², 2024 (112/3), 2026 (116/7), 2058-9 (147/8), 2086 (163/4), 2239 (238/9-243/4), 2245 (262/3 or 266/7).

5881); Δαβέριος (*I. G.*, II², 5938). We have another interesting example in the name Παρθένος Παρθενίων (*I. G.*, II², 2068₁₅₃). Ἀθήναιος (*I. G.*, II², 2111/2₁₀₂) appears as Ἀθήναις in *I. G.*, II², 1737₁₄; 1996₁₆₀; 2068_{154, 239}; 2097₈₄. Τέρτιος (*I. G.*, II², 2239₁₄₄) is found as Τέρτις in *I. G.*, II², 1783₄₃; 2218₈. Διονύσιος (*passim*) is found as Διονύσις in *I. G.*, II², 2097₂₈₉₋₉₀. The office of καψάριος in ephebe lists (*I. G.*, II², 2130₂₂₁, note; 2193₁₅₀; 2245₄₁) is also found as καψάρης (*I. G.*, II², 2276₃). Although these instances are not exhaustive they are sufficient to remind editors of Athenian inscriptions of the Empire period that names or words in -is, -iv for -ios, -ion is a marked linguistic phenomenon noticed long ago,⁵ and that restorations to -ios should be avoided.

III. THE ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

The principle which the Athenians used in their listing of names in catalogues, tribal order or otherwise, is an enigma. That the Athenians knew of the alphabetical order and used it on occasion is evident from two inscriptions. *I. G.*, II², 2208 (lines 133-167) and 2061 (lines 34 ff.) use the alphabetical order only in the listing of foreigners (ἐπεγγραφοί) in the ἐφηβία, and even this feature is an exception to the rule. The reason for the exclusion of the alphabet as a principle of classification is possibly to be found in the fact that the alphabetical order is associated in the Greek mind with cardinal numbers and in the first part of the alphabet with first, second, or third prizes in competition.⁶ It is perhaps this hierarchical association which led the democratic, lot-loving Athenians to disregard its use in cataloguing the citizens.

⁵ For a discussion of this linguistic phenomenon which does not appear in Greek before the third century B. C. and is attributed by Hatzidakis to Latin influence cf. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 314 ff.; Ἀθηνᾶ, XI (1900), p. 288; K. D. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahr. n. Chr.* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 63 ff.; A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (Strassburg, 1901), pp. 154 ff.; E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I (Munich, 1939), p. 472 (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*); Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, fifth edition by M. Leumann and J. B. Hofmann (Munich, 1928), p. 94 (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*).

⁶ Cf. *I. G.*, II², 2115.

IV. THE SIGNS OF CARDINAL NUMBERS.

Standard grammars list the signs of cardinal numbers after ten in the following order: first the sign of the decad followed by the sign of the cardinal number from one to nine, e. g. α' , $\iota\beta'$, γ' , etc. Although this is the standard usage in manuscripts and inscriptions, we find considerable deviation from this rule in inscriptions of the Empire period. For example we find η' (*I. G.*, II², 2245₃₆); θ' (*I. G.*, II², 2067₅); δ' (*I. G.*, II², 2130₈). We even find in the same inscription (*I. G.*, II², 1367) both the usages of the signs of cardinal numbers. The reason for the deviation is to be found in the fact that when people wrote $\alpha\kappa'$ instead of the traditional and logical $\kappa\alpha'$ they were literally transcribing the oral usage of the phrase $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota(\nu)$ rather than $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. The phenomenon needs to be noted in the revision of standard grammars.

JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS.

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD.

ECHOES OF EARLY ESCHATOLOGY IN THE *ILIAD*.

It is generally agreed¹ that Homer's recital of Trojan captives slain, along with horses and dogs, at the funeral pyre of Patroclus² is an unconscious echo of an obsolete eschatology. Nilsson³ puts the matter succinctly: "The burial of Patroklos is familiar as a relic of the extravagant funeral-cult of earlier times. Achilles slays twelve Trojan prisoners, four horses, two dogs, and oxen and sheep in large numbers, but the poet does not understand the custom, he does not know that such things were intended to serve the dead man in another world." Nilsson also cites Homer's use of the term *vékves* to denote the denizens of the other world as a linguistic relic of a related belief in the continued life of the actual corpse.⁴ Thus we find earlier strata of eschatological thought reflected in two ways. It is the purpose of this note to call attention to what seems to be a third. This time we are concerned neither with an element in the action of the poem nor with the poet's use of a particular word, but instead with the ideas expressed in two taunts⁵ which occur in

¹ Cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche*, I (4th ed., Tübingen, 1907), pp. 14-22; A. C. Pearson in J. Hastings and others, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, VI (1914), p. 847; F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (= *R. G. V. V.*, XV, Heft 3 [Giessen, 1915]), pp. 61 f.; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, I (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1921), p. 356; M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, trans. by F. J. Fielden (Oxford, 1925), p. 140; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, I (Berlin, 1926), p. 32; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I (Berlin, 1931), pp. 306-8; F. Schwenn in *R.-E.*, XV (1932), cols. 950 f., § 4; H. Scholz, *Der Hund in der Gr.-Röm. Magie und Religion* (Berlin, 1937), p. 37; J. Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits* (= *R. G. V. V.*, XXVI [Berlin, 1938]), p. 161.

² Cf. *Iliad*, XXIII, 171-76; also XVIII, 336 f., XXI, 27 f., XXIII, 22 f.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. *Iliad*, XV, 251 f.: καὶ δὲ ἐγὼ γ' ἐφάμην νέκρας καὶ δῶμ' Ἀΐδαο / ἡματι τῶδ' ἔσεσθαι; R. J. Cunliffe, *Lex. of the Homeric Dialect* (London, 1924), s. v. *vékvas* (2). On the belief in the "living corpse," cf. also E. Bickel, *Homerischer Seelenglaube* (= *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, I, Heft 7 [Berlin, 1926]), pp. 220-22; M. P. Nilsson, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, CLXXXVIII (1926), pp. 440 f.; *id.*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, X (1930), p. 117; Wiesner, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-67, 170, 179-85, 193 f., 210-12, 222.

⁵ On taunts in Homer, cf. A. L. Keith, *C. J.*, XIX (1923-24), pp. 556-58.

the battle-scenes of the thirteenth and fourteenth books of the *Iliad*.

The first passage is a brief speech uttered by Deiphobus, who has just slain Hypsenor in revenge for the killing of his friend Asius (*Iliad*, XIII, 414-16):

οὐ μὰν αὐτ' αἶτιος κείτ' Ἄσιος, ἀλλὰ ἔ φημι
εἰς Ἀϊδὸς περ ἴοντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
γῆθήσειν κατὰ θυμόν, ἐπεὶ ῥά οἱ ὥπασα πομπόν.

In the second, Polydamas boasts that his spear has not been thrust at Prothoenor in vain (*Iliad*, XIV, 454-57):

οὐ μὰν αὐτ' οἷω μεγαθύμον Πανθοῖδαο
χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς ἄλιον πηδῆσαι ἄκοντα,
ἀλλὰ τις Ἀργείων κόμσε χροῖ, καί μιν οἷω
αὐτῷ σκηπτόμενον κατίμεν δόμον Ἀϊδὸς εἶσω.

The dead Asius will rejoice κατὰ θυμόν as he travels the road to Hades' house, for Deiphobus has sent him the slain Hypsenor as a guide for the journey; along the same road the dead Prothoenor will limp, using as a staff the spear which Polydamas has thrust through his shoulder. Now Homer elsewhere speaks of the ψυχή of the dead as flying like a winged creature or departing like smoke to Hades' abode.⁶ Here instead we have the dead thought of as actual wayfarers, needing, and taking pleasure in, the services of a guide, or trudging along with the aid of a staff. As divergent as this representation is from the usual Homeric concept, so similar is it to the beliefs which are unwittingly reflected in the recital of human sacrifice at Patroclus' funeral and in the use of the term νέκυνες for the dead in the other world. If the two latter elements are rightly regarded as unconscious survivals of an earlier eschatology, so too, it is suggested, should we regard the ideas concerning the journey to the house of Hades which are expressed in the two passages here adduced.⁷

HARRY L. LEVY.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

⁶ Cf. *Iliad*, XVI, 856 (= XXII, 362): ψυχή δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων παμένη Ἀϊδόσδε βεβήκειν, XXIII, 100 f.: ψυχή δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἥντε καπνὸς / ὤχετο.

⁷ W. Büchner, in *Hermes*, LXXII (1937), pp. 111-13, sees evidence in *Odyssey*, XI, 385-564 of a belief that the souls of Agamemnon and his warrior-companions lead a life comparable to that of men in our world, and unlike the empty existence of the rest of the shades.

AGAMEMNON, 469-470.

- 460 μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου
μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές
τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
ἄσκοποι θεοί. κελαιναὶ
δ' Ερινύες χρόνῳ
τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας
465 παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ βίου
τιθεῖς' ἄμανρόν, ἐν δ' αἴστοις
τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά·
τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν εὖ
βαρύν· βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις
470 Διόθεν κεραυνός.

In anxious fear I wait to hear something shrouded still in gloom; for Heaven is not unmindful of men of blood. In the end the black Spirits of Vengeance bring to obscurity him who hath prospered in unrighteousness and wear down his fortunes by reverse; and once he hath passed among them that are brought to naught, there is no more help for him. Glory in excess is fraught with peril; for the thunderbolt from Zeus smites the eyes (of the guilty).¹

The meaning of these lines is immediately evident, with the seeming exception of 469-70, which have puzzled many scholars and caused attempts at emendation which alter the thought of the two verses.² A literal translation of the lines as given in the manuscripts (taking βάλλεται for ἐπιβάλλεται) may be rendered as "for the thunderbolt from Zeus is hurled against the eyes." Thomson comments: "Even if the construction could pass, this is excluded, because Greeks never spoke of hurling a thunderbolt on a man's eyes; it would convey no meaning"; for κεραυνός he substitutes κάρανα and translates "With a jealous eye the Lord Zeus in a flash shall smite him."³ Verrall accepts the use of βάλλεται with the dative, but asserts "that 'the bolt of Zeus strikes the eyes' is neither true as a fact nor significant as

¹ Translated by H. W. Smyth, *Aeschylus* (London, 1936), p. 41, with the exception of lines 469-70.

² Cf. the emendations given in the editions of the *Agamemnon* by K. H. Keck (Leipzig, 1863) and F. H. M. Blaydes (Halle, 1898): "βάλλεται γ' ὀρόγκοις" and "βάλλεται γὰρ ὄγκοις."

³ George Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1938), translation and commentary for lines 475-6. κάρανα is Tucker's emendation.

a figure."⁴ Verrall does not emend, but instead resorts to the dubious practice of endowing a word with a meaning elsewhere unattested; in this instance he translates *ὄσσοις* as "mountain peaks."⁵ Both Thomson and Verrall are unjustified in assuming that the idea of striking a man's eyes with the thunderbolt was strange to the Greeks; Anchises, in the tradition followed by Theocritus, was blinded by the divine lightning for his presumption in boasting of his affair with Aphrodite.⁶

Apparently these scholars have not appreciated the significance of the lines with reference to the context. The connecting image of the passage is that of darkness and its personalized condition of blindness. First, the chorus fears it will learn of "something clothed in night" (*τί . . . νυκτηρεφές*), for the gods possess vision (*οὐκ ἄσκοποι*) to watch the deeds of men guilty of bloodshed. The Erinyes both move in darkness (*κελαιναί*) and shroud their quarry in darkness by making him both "shadowy" or "dim" and "sightless" (*ἀμανρόν*), for there is no defense for him who comes into their unseen world (*ἐν δ' αἰστόις*), or equally, there is no earthly help for him who has lost his vision by their action. Thus the disputed lines are observed to preserve consistently this extended image and to act as a summation of the whole passage; excessive fame is the source of grief, for the thunderbolt is hurled by Zeus against the eyes of the unjustly prosperous, through the agency of his servants of darkness, the Erinyes.⁷ The construction of the lines, while unusual, is closely paralleled by Euripides' *Phoenissae*, 1534 f., where the phrase *σκότον ὄμμασι σοῖσι βαλὼν* permits only one interpretation.

R. D. MURRAY.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

⁴ A. W. Verrall, *The 'Agamemnon' of Aeschylus* (London, 1904), line 475.

⁵ *Ibid.* H. W. Smyth (*op. cit.*, p. 41) follows Thomson in accepting *κάρανα* as correct, but translates, like Verrall, as "lofty peaks."

⁶ Servius, *ad Aen.*, II, 687: ". . . contra opinionem Theocriti, qui eum (Anchises) fulmine caecatum fuisse commemorat." Cf. also I, 617 and II, 35.

⁷ M. Untersteiner, *Eschilo, Le Tragedie* (Milan, 1946), translates lines 469-70, "viene scagliato il fulmine dagli occhi di Zeus." This interpretation, while grammatically admissible, concludes the central image much less forcefully and not so consistently.

REVIEWS.

ERNST HOWALD. *Der Dichter der Ilias*. Erlenbach-Zürich, Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1946. Pp. 181.

The author, a man of great ability, attempts in this book to show just what in the *Iliad* is due to tradition, and what to the creative imagination of the poet. He believes that Homer was the first poet to unite various traditions into one majestic whole. He had before him the story of the wrath of Meleager and reproduced scenes of that poem in the ninth book of the *Iliad*, and the wrath of Meleager was a source as well as a pattern for the wrath of Achilles. He had also the epic of Memnon and that tale furnished him with the Lycians and their leaders, Glaucus and Sarpedon. Then he had smaller poems of many heroes, and by the device of having Achilles withdraw in his anger was able to show these other heroes in action. Homer was at the end of a great epoch and his genius was such that succeeding poets were eclipsed in advance. The quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, even if something similar may have existed, is in its present form a complete creation of Homer.

The genius of the poet is best shown in the books connected with Hector, especially in the sixth, the twenty-second, and the twenty-fourth. "Hector did not belong to tradition, but is a new creation, brought into being solely for the poem of the Wrath" (p. 118). "Hector and Polydamas were both the creations of the poet of the *Iliad*" (p. 137). It is in scenes connected with Hector that the creative genius of the poet is best revealed, and the author reaches the conclusion that the last book of the *Iliad* is not late and an addition, but the very heart of the poem and more than any other book shows the best in the poet's genius. This scholar in his treatment of the *Iliad* impresses me as a man of sound judgment and possessed of a thorough knowledge of all parts of the poem, even if many of his assumptions depend on things unknown. Poetry is so much a matter of the imagination that it is generally impossible to guess what the facts were before touched by the genius of the poet.

His chapter on the *Odyssey* is far different from his treatment of the *Iliad*, as he sees great poetic power in the one poem, but little or none in the other. The poet of the *Odyssey* he regards as late, one who had before him the poems of the Cycle, the last poem of which dealt with Odysseus, a poem of about a third or at most a half the size of the present *Odyssey*. A late poet "ein Spätling," was fascinated with the *Iliad* and decided to expand the cyclic poem to something like the size of the *Iliad*, and this "Expander" had no ability, borrowed from many sources, and spoiled much that he took. For example he took the figure of Priam from the last book of the *Iliad* and introduced his parallel in the last book of the *Odyssey* as Laertes, the father of Odysseus. The Überarbeiter never caught the Homeric spirit, and he repeats without understanding many scenes from the *Iliad*. "Homer ist verschieden, grundverschieden" (p. 176). Then he illustrates the absurdity of the *Odyssey* by quoting the description of the scene on the shore when Pisistratus and Telemachus

part after returning from the home of Menelaus, closing his book with these words: "In this manner the reviser of the *Odyssey* thought he was following Homer. True he saw the Homeric, but in his hands the best was lost, the real secret of Homer." It is also true that Vergil, Milton, and Tennyson never hinted that the *Odyssey* is not a great poem, and Horace, the best possible judge of real poetry, refers to Homer as the poet of perfect taste, *qui nil molitur inepte* (*A. P.*, 140), and this poet of "perfect taste" is the poet of the *Odyssey*, whose taste he illustrates by examples, not from the *Iliad*, but from the *Odyssey*. If this author will forget the vanities of Destructive Criticism, and will study the *Odyssey* with something like the zeal he has studied the *Iliad*, he will see that this poem is not composed of the absurdities of a stupid "Überarbeiter," but is the creation of a towering genius, a genius similar to the creator of the *Iliad*, and in no way inferior.

†JOHN A. SCOTT.

G. Révész. Ursprung und Vorgeschichte der Sprache. Bern, A. Francke, 1946. Pp. 280. 19 Swiss fr.

The present book represents an attempt on the part of a psychologist to solve the problem of the origin and early history of Language. This is a problem which the modern school of linguists, interested chiefly in Indo-European philology with its horror at any kind of "glottogonic" reconstruction, has abandoned as insoluble, and lacking recourse to such a process, the problem must remain incapable of solution. But why exclude such a process in linguistic discussion? Hypothesis and theory have been and are still employed in man's attempt to understand and explain the phenomena of both natural and social science, and it would seem that there is no valid reason why they should not be made to serve the same purpose in our attempt to understand and explain that wonderful human activity that we call language. The author is to be congratulated on his temerity in attacking the problem once more.

After a preface, pp. 5-6, table of contents, pp. 7-8, and introduction, chap. 1, pp. 11-15, he states the problem before him in chap. 2, pp. 16-29.

This is followed in chap. 3, pp. 30-112, by an account of the various theories of the origin of language that have been proposed, which he divides into four groups.

1. Biological theories

- a) derivation from expressive movements and expressive sounds
- b) derivation from animal utterances

2. Anthropological theories

- a) derivation through imitation of sounds in nature
- b) ontogenetic theories
 - a') "Lalltheorie," derivation from "Lallwörter"
 - b') developed like the speech of children

- c') developed from musical sounds, singing
- d') theory that speech through the use of expressive sounds as symbols is a natural development of preceding wordless thought
- e') priority of gesture language (a theory concerning the original form, not the origin)
- f') origin to be sought in utterances of primitive peoples
- g') origin to be sought in the abnormal speech of the mentally ill.

3. Philosophical theories

- a) nativism—speech an innate function of man not derived from anything else
- b) empirical—man possesses an inborn tendency towards expressing himself in speech which is developed through the stimulus of experience and environment
- c) invention theory—speech a human invention produced to supply a felt need.

4. Theological theory—speech a gift of God like all characteristics of human nature.

Following this exposition he enumerates his ideas of the defects of these theories, and then outlines his own so-called "Kontakttheorie." His term "Kontakt" he defines as follows: "Das Wort Kontakt soll die angeborene Grundtendenz gesellschaftsbildender Lebewesen zu gegenseitiger Annäherung, Fühlungsnahme, Zusammenarbeit und Verständigung bedeuten. Es geht hier um ein allgemeines Lebensprinzip der den sozialen Verbänden angehörenden Individuen." His theory differs from the various theories that trace language back to natural sounds (*Naturlaute*), he states, in that it argues that the beginning of language is rooted in those natural sounds only which are employed originally just as the sounds of language are now for the purpose of making oneself understood (*Verständigungsabsicht*).

On the problem of the *Ursprache*, chap. 4, pp. 113-15, he concludes that comparative linguistics can do little or nothing towards its solution beyond proving that the "evolution of language shows a progressive tendency from inseparable irregular conglomerations to freely and regularly combinable short elements" (Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, p. 127). He also believes, chap. 5, pp. 116-18, that as primitive man was *homo sapiens* as shown by the fact that he was *homo faber* (witness primitive artifacts) he must also have been *homo loquens* and that the language of perhaps a half million years ago did not differ essentially from the speech of historic times.

After a discussion, chap. 6, pp. 119-59, of the primary aim of Language (*Mitteilungsfunktion*) and its secondary aims in connection with *Denken*, *Wahrnehmen*, *Selbstbesinnen*, *Ausdruck des Inneren*, and an outline of his theory of the threefold function of primitive speech, viz., imperative, indicative, and interrogative, he concludes that the verb is "das adäquate sprachliche Ausdrucksmittel" for the first two of these functions and therefore "die älteste grammatische Kategorie." This discussion leads to the fol-

lowing complicated definition of Language, p. 153, viz., "Unter Sprache ist das Mittel zu verstehen, durch welches zum Zwecke der gegenseitigen Verständigung, des geordneten Denkens, des sinnvollen Gestaltens der Wahrnehmungen, der Selbstbesinnung und des Ausdrucks des inneren Lebens—mit Hilfe einer Anzahl artikulierter und in verschiedenen Sinnverbindungen auftretenden symbolischer Zeichen—Forderungen und Wünsche zum Ausdruck gebracht, Tatbestände der inneren und äusseren Wahrnehmung angezeigt, Denkinhalte formuliert und Fragen zur Veranlassung von Mitteilungen und der Selbstkontrolle gestellt werden" (in footnote, pp. 153-4, other definitions of speech are contrasted). In accordance with this definition, he says, "kann erst jene Kommunikationsform als Sprache im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes gelten, die bereits mit imperativer, indikativer und interrogativer Funktion ausgestattet ist."

Having now laid the groundwork he proceeds, chap. 7, pp. 160-79, chap. 8, pp. 180-231, and chap. 9, pp. 232-236, to develop his "Kontakt" theory. He enumerates and describes the various forms of "Kontakt": 1) that which results simply from the mode of life of social creatures, from the desire for physical nearness for asexual and sexual reasons, the chief of which are food, reproduction, and protection (*der vitale Kontakt*); 2) a "Kontakt" which is characterized not only by a desire for physical nearness but by a feeling of mutual understanding, comradeship (*der seelische Kontakt*); 3) a "Kontakt" that implies a realization that the individual shares in the common mental and spiritual possessions not only of an individual but of a group (*der geistige Kontakt*). This last assumes the existence of Language.

He enumerates then the various forms of "Kontaktlaut" which develop from expressive exclamatory sounds that are uttered without communicative purpose: 1) one directed to the group as a whole for the purpose of bringing about some desired reaction (a cry, *Zuruf*), 2) a cry directed to one or more individuals of the group (call, *Anruf*), 3) the word, not a signal like the *Anruf* but a symbol of something in nature, which develops during a period characterized by *geistiger Kontakt* or perhaps even during the preceding stage of *seelischer Kontakt*, as a result of the creative activity which is characteristic of man's nature, but just how, the author does not presume to say.

In some manner, therefore, words are developed out of these cries and calls and we have the beginnings of language. This most primitive form of speech he argues must have been of an imperative character, the words of this first form of language being used to convey orders or requests for action on the part of the person or persons addressed. Developments of the imperative are vocative and optative expressions, and this primitive imperative speech (*Frühform der Sprache*) develops later into a speech which can make statements and ask questions, in other words into a speech which has not only imperative but also indicative and interrogative function, a *Sprache mit drei Hauptfunktionen*. Out of this *Urform der Sprache* through the workings of that same creative power that transformed cries and calls into words gradually develops Language as we know it, with its tremendous vocabulary and its complicated morphological and syntactical apparatus.

In the following chapter 10, pp. 237-244, he discusses the logical structure of his theory, in which he seems to imply that there is something fundamental and essential in groups of three, as exemplified in *drei Kontaktbegriffe* (triebhafter, seelischer, geistiger), *drei Stufenbegriffe* (Zuruf, Anruf, Wort), *drei Funktionsbegriffe* (imperative, indikative und interrogative Funktion), *drei Phasenbegriffe* (Vor-, Früh-, und Vollphase der Sprache); p. 238 and note, pp. 238-9.

In chap. 11, pp. 245-54, he treats the bearing of his theory on *Sprachgeschichte, Entwicklungs-psychologie, und Urgeschichte*. In chap. 12, pp. 255-266 he gives a convenient résumé of the whole book.

His theory is illustrated by useful tables, pp. 235, 241, 242-3. A Bibliography of important works, pp. 267-71, a list of some of the author's works in the various fields of psychology, pp. 272-3, an index of names and topics, pp. 274-9, and an announcement of the author's forthcoming work "Einleitung in die Musikpsychologie," p. 280, complete the work.

In this excellent, though somewhat wordy (the discussion of former theories comprises nearly a third of the book) and repetitious treatment of his subject the author has advanced an interesting theory. There are, however, a number of weak links in his chain of reasoning which tend to vitiate at least some of his results. His idea that the first words of primitive man must have been semantically of an imperative character, because the first speech of infants is exclusively of that type, is predicated on the supposition that the first speech of mature primitive man must have been of the same character as that of infants, a supposition which is certainly not an established fact and which is probably not true. Following the imperative language, a form of speech consisting entirely of commands or requests, he places the development of statements (indicative function) and questions (interrogative function), and as the imperative and indicative ideas are best expressed by what we call a verb, he argues that the first part of speech was the verb. Here the uncertainty of the premise (the priority of the imperative and the early development of the indicative) weakens of course the conclusion. Moreover it should be borne in mind, as the author himself states, that both functions can be very well expressed without recourse to real verbs.

In his discussion of the logical aspects of his theory, he seems to feel that there is something essential in the fact that his categories occur so frequently in groups of three, that three is a number which so often characterizes linguistic phenomena, that if such phenomena can be grouped in threes this may be regarded as proof of the correctness of the grouping. Such an argument seems the reverse of scientific.

He states that it is impossible to explain just how the *Anruf* which develops from *Zuruf* passes over into *Wort* except by saying that it is due to the creative power (*schöpferische Kraft*) of man. I think it is possible to give a more definite explanation. Granting that primitive man, like all the higher animals, has the power of ejaculating sounds to express his inner feelings and emotions or his response to external stimuli, it would be natural, even inevitable for him, using his power of thought, *schöpferische Kraft* if you will, to identify his

ejaculations with the inner feeling or external stimulus, and thus develop what to him would be the symbol or name of such feeling or stimulus, i. e. a word. If such sounds, which are words to one individual, are understood and imitated by other individuals who are witnesses of the ejaculation and its cause, we have the beginnings of a medium of communication, the most primitive form of speech. This identification of the expressive sound (*Naturlaut*) with its stimulus is, I think, the beginning of language, and the author's failure to explain the development of *Wort* from *Anruf* puts his theory on a level with some of those he criticizes, such as the interjectional and imitative theories.

Zuruf and *Anruf*, which correspond apparently to animal speech, and the earliest form of words are interjectional in character, so we may say that the interjection is both the *Vorstufe* of speech and the first part of speech. These earliest words would certainly not be, as the author thinks, exclusively imperative in character, though undoubtedly some of them would be. Some would remain what they were originally, expressions of inner feeling; others would be employed to obtain the attention of one or more individuals (vocative function, which is not to be regarded as a derivative of the imperative function but as coordinate with it), still others in giving or asking for information (indicative and interrogative function); all of which functions might be expressed by the interjectional name of the stimulus, i. e. by a noun. Thus the interjectional name of an animal might be used in all four functions, e. g. deer (= it's a deer), deer (bring the deer), Deer! (calling a person of that name), deer? (is it a deer?). So it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the noun is the part of speech which emerges immediately after the interjection and not the verb.

The author does not attempt to trace the development of speech beyond his *Urform* with its three functions, but there are many indications in historic languages of the general course of this development. Assuming, as above, that the interjectional noun is the second oldest part of speech, the emergence of the other principal parts of speech may be conceived of briefly as follows. From nominal designations of place probably developed demonstrative particles, which were the basis of many pronouns and indefinite adverbs. I doubt if the verb in general grew out of the imperatively used noun; the verb, adjective, and many adverbs would seem to have been developed out of the noun by the fading out of the nominal idea and the strengthening of the subsidiary verbal, adjectival, or adverbial idea; for example the expression for a *running deer* might develop into a verb *run*, that for a *white deer* into an adjective *white*, that for a *fast running deer* into an adverb *fast*. It is possible also to suggest with a considerable degree of probability the sequence of the development of the other parts of speech and the course of the involution of the sentence from the simple interjectional sentence of one element to its most complex forms (cf. my "Origin and Development of Language and the Emergence of the Parts of Speech" (Abstract), *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, LXVIII [1937], No. 1).

To resume, therefore, the author's theory, while emphasizing very properly the differences between natural expressive sounds uttered

without communicative intention (*Naturlaute*), *Zuruf*, *Anruf*, and *Wort*, does not explain satisfactorily the development of the last from the preceding two, which is the crux of the whole matter. His assumption of an exclusively imperative speech on the basis of the identity of the first speech efforts of infants with those of primitive mature man depends on the truth of this basis, which is at least doubtful and not susceptible of proof. His assumption that the verb comes first in the development of the parts of speech depending upon his assumed triple function of primitive speech, viz., imperative, indicative, interrogative; his development of the vocative function from the imperative; his ascription of a fundamental, essential character to the frequent occurrence of a triple division in the categorization of linguistic material; all these are unconvincing.

In common with such theories as the interjectional and imitative he finds the *Vorform* of speech in expressive ejaculations and like them again he makes no definite explanation of how these sound complexes became words. The elements which he has added to the older theories are of dubious value, and his failure to theorize on the further development of speech and the general course of the outcropping of grammatical categories would seem a distinct lack in any such treatment. In spite of these strictures, the work contains much useful material, many discussions of value, and presents many new points of view, and its perusal would seem essential to anyone who attacks again the problem of the origin and development of speech.

FRANK R. BLAKE.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

CARLO MAZZANTINI. *Eraclito: I frammenti e le testimonianze: Testo e traduzione. Introduzione e commento, con un'indice delle fonti, dei nomi, appendici critiche e bibliografia.* Torino, Chiantore, 1945. Pp. 312.

The main substance of this work is contained in an introductory essay of 134 pages on "The philosophical thought of Heraclitus"; most of the fragments are here discussed in detail, under these chapter headings: Heraclitus and ourselves; The Logos; The opposites; The soul and the river; Metaphysics, ethics, epistemology; The position of man in the natural and human worlds; The theological culmination of the philosophy of Heraclitus; Biographical notes. Next follows a text, with translation and notes, of the fragments. This part of the book is based on the standard edition of the *Vorsokratiker* by Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz, and on an edition, with Italian translation, of Heraclitus alone by Richard Walzer (the latter was not available to me). In establishing his text, however, the author follows an independent path. The volume concludes with a useful "Bibliographical note" of ten pages, in which many previous studies are critically reviewed, and with indices.

The purpose of the work is clearly indicated by the author. From a philological examination of the texts he attempts to arrive at a philosophical explanation of Heraclitus' teachings, with emphasis on whatever elements in them are valid for all time. "The directive lines of my interpretation," says Mazzantini on p. 276, "... fit into a theoretical philosophical conception which, on the one hand, implies an interpretation of the historical course of philosophy and, on the other hand (in a continuous fruitful synergy), emerges from it, finding in it confirmation" (I quote from the work under review with rather literal translations, in order to preserve its style). Into the making of the book have gone learning and sagacity, enthusiasm and energy of thought; and yet it falls short of its goal, except for a limited area which is successfully covered.

As far as the more technical aspect of the author's task is concerned, the texts are not competently handled and explained. I give a few examples, the first of which have to do with determining what precisely in the references goes back to Heraclitus. According to Mazzantini, in fragment 71 (text below) Heraclitus imposes on the enlightened a responsibility for those that do not know their way; they are commanded to "remember" them, or, as the author puts it, to do their best to lead them back onto the right road and make them comply with the moral law (p. 101, n. 1; cf. also pp. 44, 95, and 100 f.). If this were true, it would give Heraclitus the complexion of a pre-Socratic Socrates, who makes it his business to minister to individuals and with loving care to attend to their moral welfare. The evidence for frag. 71 is the following passage from Marcus Antoninus (IV, 46): 'Αεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου μνησθαι ὅτι (follows frag. 76). μνησθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου ἧ ἡ ὁδὸς ἀγεί (= frag. 71). For anyone who reads the reference in its context (and Mazzantini published in 1940 a translation of the *Meditations*) it is evident that the words "remember also" are outside the quotation; they are, in fact, so printed in the *Vorsokratiker*. Marcus is reminding himself of a Heraclitean saying about a man "who forgets where the road leads him" (a man like the drunkard, οὐκ ἐπαύων ὁκὴ βαίνει, of Heraclitus, frag. 117). Mazzantini makes much of this supposed fragment and of others from Marcus Antoninus who, in my opinion, rarely if ever quotes in full the actual text of Heraclitus; he rather tries to call back to his mind Stoic interpretations of Heraclitean words (for frag. 71 compare Seneca, *Epist.*, 98, 10: *obliti quo eant*, that is, forgetting that we are all on our way toward death). The author is especially emphatic about frag. 75. After asking a certain question which, as he says, "occurs spontaneously to Heraclitus and to ourselves, ourselves that read Heraclitus and converse with him without historicist prejudices that hamper the colloquy" (p. 37), he asserts that "Fragment 75 answers in the most clear and explicit manner that one could wish for: . . . In the most clear and explicit manner, that is, unless one forces on the fragment interpretations, or rather prejudiced distortions which bring . . . 'prejudice' to bear on the genuine 'interpretation'" (p. 39). That sounds as if we were dealing with *ipsissima verba Heracliti*. And yet Mazzantini ignores, and fails to reprint, the diffident words with which the emperor himself introduces frag. 75: "I think that Heraclitus says

(or: means, λέγει) that" It was plausibly argued by Gerhard Breithaupt (Diss. Göttingen, 1913, pp. 21-23) that the so-called frag. 75 is no new fragment at all; Marcus is here (VI, 42) merely echoing and elaborating, from memory, one of his previous (IV, 46) [pseudo-]quotations from Heraclitus, namely, frag. 73. Mazzantini, however, writes: "Breithaupt maintains, and in my opinion rightly, that the two fragments [*scil.* 73 and 75] were united with one another in the book of Heraclitus" (p. 99, n. 2, duplicated p. 169, n. 3; the same thing had been said already on p. 45). Frag. 92 is taken from Plutarch's treatise *De Pyth. orac.*; in the middle of a sentence Plutarch inserts the words καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, and it is an open question how many, or how few, words of Plutarch's text are covered by this reference. Mazzantini writes on p. 251: "I keep the entire fragment [*sic*] as it stands in the MSS [*sic*]." Misinterpretation of Greek words is patent, for instance, on p. 268 where the author says: ". . . the 'glory' of which frag. 23 [read: 29] speaks is glory in God more than among men (although it also includes the latter)." But κλέος ἀέναον is unambiguously "fame (among men)," excluding such a Christian idea as "glory in God." With reference to frag. 85 (θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ, ψυχῆς ὀνεῖται) we read on p. 250: "I maintain that the term θυμός . . . designates that summit of the soul which transcends the cosmic vicissitude and is able to affirm itself by saving itself through and beyond it, or else by shutting itself up within itself against it but also, by virtue of this same act, remaining submerged and imprisoned in it."

In his philosophical interpretation, Mazzantini moves within too narrow a circle. Three shortcomings seem mainly responsible for it.

The first is an insufficient familiarity with the non-philosophical literature of the age. The author sees in the teachings of Heraclitus, not so much a phase of Greek thought, but rather the spontaneous emergence of Philosophy which then and there had its first beginnings. The historical background is thus virtually lacking, with the consequence that Heraclitean philosophy becomes a thing with dim contours and pallid colors.

Secondly, the fragmentary nature of the evidence is hardly recognized, and we cannot but underrate the range of Heraclitean thought unless we realize that only a tiny fraction of his work has survived in one form or another. Mazzantini's book reads as if nothing were missing for our reconstruction of the Heraclitean system, and the obvious blanks are filled by means of unwarranted conjectures. These are all of the same stamp; whenever something needs to be supplied, the one set of notions is called upon which the author considers the core of Heraclitean doctrine. That Heraclitus, for instance, had definite ideas on after-life is shown by frag. 27 (Ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἄσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν), but we have no means of knowing what they were. Mazzantini declares (pp. 105 f.) that "The unexpected lot to which the fragment alludes is in the last analysis (mystically) 'salvation in God,' but this salvation consists in 'understanding the truth,' without the strains and deficiencies that vitiate this understanding (without, however, destroying it or jeopardizing those evident truths already reached) this side of death." The suggestion is not merely arbitrary; it is unlikely because an under-

standing for which one has already struggled with partial success during lifetime would hardly have been styled "unexpected and unopined."

The third, and gravest, reason is the radical Christianization which Heraclitus undergoes under the hands of a student who is convinced that it is "the classical and Catholic tradition which truly preserves and develops the genuine and profound nature of Hellenism" (pp. 242 f.). Since the points of contact between Heraclitean and Catholic doctrines are few, this particular perspective hides more things than it reveals, and it projects into the picture features that do not belong there. The author uses Clement of Alexandria as his guide and reads Christian concepts into the texts from the early fifth century B. C. In his discussion of frag. 52 (*αὐὸν παῖς ἐστὶ παῖζων*, etc.), he says this: "Here as elsewhere, the continuity, in actual experience, of Hellenism and Christianity (as against the barbarism of a Tertullian) is the reason why Clement discovers the most profound significance of the Heraclitean words. Even though he exaggerates when he sees in it, as it were, a theological comment on the Incarnation, he is entirely right in seeing in it the philosophical consciousness of such a rapport between God and world as to exclude the impossibility of the very Incarnation. If God can assume human infancy, this is possible because there is in Him an eternal divine Infancy" (p. 118). Mazzantini speaks of "the plan" (= benevolent design?) which the Logos has for the world (pp. 37, 38, 40); he ascribes to Heraclitus the view that "the obedient faithfulness of man experiences the divine presence as love, as law, and power of salvation" (p. 111); and in frag. 52 he also finds expressed the thought that "the divine transcendence, by sovereign condescension, permits the world to exist" (p. 119)—a thought which is incompatible with frag. 30. With tiresome repetitiousness, he insists on those elements in the Heraclitean system which may be looked upon as the rudiments of ideas that were much later fully deployed and technically elaborated in Christian philosophy. Especially in the last, summarizing, part of his essay (pp. 122 ff.) the author loses sight of the bulk of the fragments and their specific content with which he had dealt before, and indulges in restatements, time and again, of his principal points.

On the positive side, his Catholic beliefs helped the author to appreciate better than some other scholars have done the hierarchic structure of the Heraclitean universe, with man occupying an intermediate position between its bottom and summit (cf. my article, which Mazzantini has not seen, in this *Journal*, LIX [1938], pp. 309 ff.) and being able, by virtue of his participation in the Logos, to grasp the essence of the world. There is an analogy, though by no means identity, between the Christian concept of illumination and that awakening to a higher consciousness to which Heraclitus tries to arouse his readers, with the promise that then they will live their lives in plain sight of the transcending totality from which all things and events derive their being. Mazzantini's book contains a number of good remarks on those Heraclitean views that lent themselves to the approach which the author has chosen to take. Thus we read, for example, on pp. 33 f.: "This Logos is the soul of man, which is

here clearly thought of, not merely as the living and vivifying principle, but as the thinking principle, and thinking in a progressive fashion: reason incarnate, that becomes (can become) ever more and ever better reason: which increases itself, says frag. 115. Xenophanes had already insisted on the progressive character of human knowledge (frag. 18), but here the distinction-unity with the Divine Logos is more neatly designated." (Some reservations, however, are in order; for one thing, Heraclitus in frags. 115 and 45 says, not that the soul is, but that it has, logos.) There are also to be found in the work a few striking remarks on matters beyond the author's fixed program, e.g. on p. 65 with respect to the opposites Peace and War: ". . . the profound meaning of the Heraclitean 'war' is actually (but, precisely, in its profoundest meaning) 'peace.' . . . peace of affirmative living-together, in which each term affirms itself energetically, repelling the invasion (so to speak) of the others, but also finding itself repelled by the others (kept within its limit) . . . The exclusion is never total destruction (war unto death) but preservation within the limit, or reduction up to the limit . . ." Here, as throughout the book, one may take exception to the untidy phrasing, but the ideas themselves seem sound and worthwhile.

HERMANN FRÄNKEL.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

EDMUND GROAG. Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian. Vienna and Leipzig, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G., 1939. Coll. 198. (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, *Schriften der Balkankommission*, Antiquarische Abteilung, IX.)

EDMUND GROAG. Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit. Budapest, Institut für Münzkunde und Archaeologie der P. Pázmány-Universität, 1946. Pp. 92. (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Ser. I, No. 14.)

The two parts of the late Edmund Groag's masterly study of the Roman officials of Achaia will here be designated as *Achaia I* and *Achaia II*.

The author, who during the war was confined to his home in Vienna, died upon his liberation in 1945. Since it was impossible to publish *Achaia II* either in Germany or in Austria, the manuscript and a request from Groag for publication in the *Dissertationes Pannonicae* had been secretly dispatched, it is said, to Professor Alföldi in Budapest, who edited the manuscript and "filled in the gaps that still existed." It is unfortunately not indicated which gaps were filled by Alföldi.

Achaia was organized in 27 B. C. as a senatorial province to be governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank. From 15 to 44 A. D.

the senate lost the province which came under the command of the legate of Moesia. Diocletian, who seems to have left the old arrangement in force for a while, later replaced the proconsul with an equestrian *vir perfectissimus*, who appears in the time of the tetrarchy as *praeses provinciae Achaiae* under the vicarius of the dioecesis Moesiarum. Achaia, reduced by Diocletian to a province of the lowest rank, after 314 A. D. recovered its dignity and returned to government by a proconsul. The last known proconsul of Achaia belongs to the year 435 A. D.

For this study, a worthy last contribution from a scholar so eminent, the author has collected and utilized a mass of widely scattered pieces of evidence, chiefly from inscriptions. Despite the author's rare familiarity with epigraphical material and prosopography some problems are at the present stage incapable of solution, and others merely emerge as the result of the present sifting, systematizing, and consequent clarification, but the study makes a long step forward, has brought order into chaotic material, and, as a reference work, affords the greatest help.

The arrangement and presentation of the material are excellent. Tables and indices, moreover, make the work easy to consult. The continuity of the two parts is stressed by cross reference and by the presence of twelve pages of addenda and corrigenda to *Achaia* I at the beginning of *Achaia* II. The reviewer, satisfied with the aim and the general conclusions of the work, would submit the following notes on some of the details.

The proconsul honored in *I. G.*, II², 4106 is still called in *Achaia* I C. (Or?)conius. Groag disposes of the previous dating in the Ciceronian Period and places this proconsul early in the reign of Augustus. For reasons submitted in *A. J. P.*, LXVIII (1947), pp. 150-160, I should place the inscription certainly in the Julio-Claudian Period and restore the name as [Pa]conius or [As]conius, which are gentilicia of senatorial families.

For the proconsul L. Aquilius Florus Turcianus Gallus, Groag in *P. I. R.*², I, 993 preferred the date 52/3 A. D. proposed by A. B. West, but in *Achaia* I on the basis of the same evidence he leaned toward the old dating ca. 3 B. C. Not so v. Premerstein (*Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XV [1934], p. 217), to whom the phrase *proq]uaest(ore) Cypro* (a senatorial province) *ex auctoritate Aug(usti)* in the Corinthian inscription implied an interference more like Caligula, mentioned with deliberate vagueness, than like Augustus. Three extant inscriptions, including one published in *Hesperia*, X (1941), p. 238, were erected on the Acropolis at Athens, when Hipposthenis, a contemporary of Florus, was priestess of Athena. The date is still quite unsettled, but some day Hipposthenis may help.

In *I. G.*, II², 4511, a list of dedications to Aesclepius from Philopappus and others, the names of Lupus and Proculus in line 10 are probably those of the proconsuls Cn. Acerronius Proculus and Gellius Rutilius Lupus. Both of these men, particularly the latter, were closely connected with Athens, where inscriptions in their honor have been found.

A decision by a certain Longinus is cited by the legate C. Avidius Nigrinus of the Trajanic Period in *S. I. G.*³, 827. It is impossible to

say whether Longinus was a proconsul or legate and who he was. Groag, *Achaia*, I, col. 54, suggests the possibility of an identification with C. Julius Longinus cos. 107 A.D. A *iuris consultus*, cited merely as Longinus, rose in the first century from an equestrian origin to be a senator of praetorian rank (*P. I. R.*¹, II, 246); he too could be considered. The Roman lady, who in the first or early second century was honored at Rhamnus in *I. G.*, II², 4059 by the Areopagus, the Council of the Six Hundred, and the Demos, had a husband named Longinus. The reference should read Κεστίου Λογγ[είνου] | γυναι[κ]α rather than Κεστίου Λόγγ[ου] . . .⁴. . . | γυναι[κ]α as in the *Corpus*. Cn. (or C.) Cestius Longinus must have been someone of consequence, but there is no evidence for or against an office in the provincial administration.

In the acephalous inscription *I. G.*, II², 3233, the photograph published in *Hesperia*, XVII (1948), Plate XIV, No. 30, shows enough for certain recognition of another Augustan legate to be added to those of *Achaia*, I, coll. 20-22: with the letters underlined which are now lost, -- πρεσ[β]ευτήν Αὐτοκρά[τορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρος], a title which highlights the new position of Tiberius in 13-14 A.D., for it presumably implies common rule and raises the question elsewhere (*Epigraphica*, VIII, 33-36).

The Latin inscription at Corinth for Memmius Regulus, legate successively of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, reads in the reviewer's opinion, *P. Memm[io] P. f.* | *Regulo*, [*VIIviro*] | *epul.*, *sodali* [*Augustali*], | *fratri Arvali*, [*leg. [Gai]*] | ⁵ *Caesaris Augu[st]i G[ermanici]* | *pro* [*praetore*], etc. In *Achaia*, I, col. 25 Groag adds the abbreviation *cos* at the end of the restoration in line 2, but spatial considerations indicate that the title *cos* was indeed omitted as A. B. West, *Corinth*, VIII (2), p. 53 inferred. Groag's objection to West's identification of the emperor as Caligula, that the name would have been erased, is sufficiently met by restoring an erasure of the praenomen alone as in the above reworded and redistributed version of West's text. West, following Dean, restored the title as [*leg. | C.*] *Caesaris Augu[st]i G[er.] | pr. praet.] pro* [*v. Achaiae*]. This cannot be right because the command included Moesia and Macedonia. Groag did not raise the question as to the exact title Memmius Regulus bore, but the question should be raised and the answer may lie in the hitherto unexplained three-letter abbreviation of *I. G.*, II², 4176, [πρε]ζβευτοῦ τῶν [Σε]βαστῶν καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου Μ(υσίας) Μ(ακεδονίας) [Α(χαίας)].

On the proconsuls L. Liv[ius] and L. Rufinus and on the στρατηγός Mescinius (*Achaia*, I, col. 22) see now M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge University Press, 1946), pp. 385-386.

The proconsul C. Sulpicius (Galba), honored at Samos, is, I believe, not the proconsul of Asia but the proconsul of Achaia, identical with the proconsul C. Sulpicius honored at Athens. The texts relating to this official have been brought together and discussed in *A. J. A.*, XLVI (1942), pp. 380-387 (the suggestion that he received divine honors was, however, mistaken). In the reviewer's opinion the proconsul is the same as the man honored at Delphi ca. 13 B.C. in an inscription which G. Daux (*B. C. H.*, LXVIII-LXIX [1944-1945], 107) has republished with a new fragment. The

proconsul, accordingly, would not be the consul of 22 A.D. (cf. *Achaia*, I, coll. 19-20) but rather his grandfather who never rose above praetorian rank.

In the article on Calpurnius Rufus, attested as a Hadrianic proconsul of Achaia by Ulpien, Groag (*Achaia*, I, coll. 61 f. and II, p. 6), who followed Mommsen's commentary to *C. I. L.*, III, 6072, seems to have conflated evidence concerning three generations of a family resident at Attaleia in Pamphylia. The proconsul has the same cognomen as M. Calpurnius M. f. Rufus who now appears as legate of the emperor Claudius—the name of the province is lost—in an inscription published by E. Bosch and S. Atlan, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, XI (1947), p. 94, No. 10. With the evidence then at hand Groag, who pointed out difficulties and made reservations, was perhaps justified in his conflation. In view of the new evidence, however, it seems better to connect the references in *C. I. L.*, III, 6072 and *S. E. G.*, II, 696 with the imperial legate of the reign of Claudius; the proconsul of Achaia, Calpurnius Rufus, was probably the grandson of M. Calpurnius M. f. Col. Rufus. Bosch and Atlan have published *ibidem*, No. 11, a Greek inscription which names Calpurnius Longus as the son of M. Calpurnius Rufus, likewise a Greek inscription, No. 22, which gives the son's full name as L. Marcius Celer Calpurnius Longus, IIIIvir viarum curandarum, tribunus leg. I Italiae. Still another inscription from Attaleia published as No. 21 by Bosch and Atlan, *ibid.*, pp. 104-106, shows Longus as an official of Achaia. Bosch and Atlan restore the title as [ἀνθύπατον Ἀ]χαίας. On the basis of *S. E. G.*, VI, 650 (also from Attaleia), of which M. N. Tod, *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 333-344, has pushed the date up into the first century after Christ, the reviewer prefers to restore the title as [πρεσβευτὴν | Ἀ]χαίας:

Belleten, XI, pp. 104-6, No. 21

S. E. G., VI, 650

Λούκιον
[Μ]άρκιον Καλ[πούρνιον]
Λόγγον, χιλία[ρχον πλατύση]
μον λεγέω[νος πρώτης Ἰτα]
5 λικῆς, πρεσβε[υτὴν Πόντου]
καὶ Βιθυνίας, [πρεσβευτὴν]
[Ἀ]χαίας [-----]
[. .] καπαῖδια [-----]
[τ]ρεφόμενα [-----]
10 [. .] νιον τροφ[-----]
[πά]τρωνα καὶ ε[ὐεργέτην]

[-----]
Πόντον καὶ Βειθυ
νίας, δήμαρχον,
στρατηγόν, πρεσβευ
τὴν καὶ ἀντιστρά
5 τηγον ἐπαρχειῶν
Ἀχαίας καὶ Ἀσίας,
Μάρκος Σεπρόνιος
Ἀλβανὸς ἀρχιερεὺς
καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης,
10 ἐπαρχος ἱππέων Ἰλῆς
Σεβαστῆς Γερμανικ
ανῆς, τὸν ἐαυτοῦ φίλον.

It is nowhere stated but probable that the proconsul Calpurnius Rufus was a son of Calpurnius Longus. If so, the genealogical table may be represented as in Figure 1.

Caecilia Tertulla priestess of Livia and of Rome, gymnasiarch of the three gymnasia. <i>S. E. G.</i> , II, 696	M. Calpurnius [---] <i>ca.</i> 15 A. D. <i>C. I. L.</i> , III, 6072; <i>Belleten</i> , XI p. 94, No. 10.
M. Calpurnius M. f. Col(lina tribu) Rufus <i>ca.</i> 50 A. D. praef. frumenti ex s. c., legate in Cyprus, legate in Pontus and Bithynia, legate in Asia, leg. pro. pr. Tib. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germanici [---]. <i>C. I. L.</i> , III, 6072, 7128; <i>Belleten</i> , XI, p. 94, Nos. 10 and 11; <i>S. E. G.</i> , II, 696.	
L. Marcius Celer Calpurnius Longus <i>ca.</i> 85 A. D. IIIvir viarum curandarum, tribunus laticlavus leg. I Italiae, praetor, legate in Pontus and Bithynia, legate in Achaia, legate in Asia. <i>Belleten</i> , XI, pp. 94 ff., Nos. 11, 21 and 22; <i>S. E. G.</i> , VI, 650.	
Calpurnius Rufus <i>ca.</i> 120 A. D. proconsul of Achaia under Hadrian <i>Dig.</i> , I, 16, 10 (Ulpian).	

Figure 1. The Calpurnii of Attaleia in Pamphylia.

As to the proconsul Claudius Pro[] of *Achaia*, I, col. 62, B. D. Meritt *Hesperia*, XVI (1947), p. 175, has published a new fragment of *I. G.*, II², 4196, where the name now reads ΚΛ Πρό[κλον | Κυ]τρον. Although Meritt is almost certain that the vertical hasta of a second cognomen can belong only to a nu, he has cautiously dotted the letter. Since the number of missing letters has been determined, for both lines, the name would seem to be Claudius Pro[culus Qui]ntus or Qui]etus.

Both in *Achaia*, I, coll. 64-66, and in earlier discussions of L. Aemilius Juncus the would-be archaic inscription in the ancient Attic alphabet, *I. G.*, II², 3194 (= III, 70), has been a source of errors. Disregard of the uninscribed area between lines 3 and 4 has produced one of the chief of these errors, the failure to realize that a separate document of the same record begins in line 4. Hence the reference

to the Athenian archon Sylla, which occurs at the end of line 3, may date the inscription to the period 144-150 A. D., but it certainly does not date to the period 144-150 A. D. the document of lines 4-17 which concerns Juncus. Let us assume from the reference to Sylla that the inscription was erected by Athenian order—hence the Attic alphabet—in the Attic year 147/8 A. D. It contains in lines 4-17 as part of the record a judgment given by Juncus, for all we know, perhaps sixteen or seventeen years earlier, and in lines 18 ff. another document which mentions (that same judgment by) Juncus. For our purposes the two most important lines are 4 and 5:

Ἰοῦγκ[ος ^{5 or 6} ----]ς μ[ετ]ὰ τῶν συνεδρεόντων[ν]
 5 ἀνέγ[ν]ω [- ----] vacat

In line 4, where the sigma had not yet been read, Kolbe's restoration δ δικαιοδότης] and Dittenberger's restorations ἀνθύπατος] or *ho στρατηγός*] were rejected for excessive length by Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 21-25, who suggested ἄρχων] (of the Panhellenion) or *ho πρόεδρος*] (admittedly too long). Whereas Dittenberger had identified the συνεδρεόντες with the *consilium* of the Roman magistrate, Graindor, without denying that it could be the *consilium*, sought to explain the synhedrion in other ways. He suggested *inter alia* that Juncus had become an Athenian citizen and appeared here as an Athenian official. In this misconception Groag has followed Graindor. However, Dittenberger was right at least about the *consilium*, for the sense becomes apparent from a comparison with headings to judgments of a Roman official in two papyri, *Ox. Pap.*, 1102 (ca. 146 A. D.), σκ[εψ]άμ[ενο]ς μετὰ τῶν παρόντων ὑπηγόρευεν ἀπόφασιν ἢ καὶ ἀνε[γνώσθη] κατ[ὰ] λέξιν οὕτως ἔχουσα, and *P. Tebt.*, 286 (121-138 A. D.), lines 15-18, as restored by A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII (1911), p. 171, ἀνασ[τ]ὰς εἰς συμ[βούλιον κ]αὶ σκεψάμ[ενος με]τὰ τ[ῶν] π[α]ρ[ό]ν[τ]ω[ν] ὑπηγόρ[η]σεν ἀπόφ[α]σιν ἢ καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη κατὰ λέξιν ὅς[τ]ω[ς] ἔχουσα. In all three cases the reference is to the procedure in a Roman trial. The Roman judge consults legal advisers; then on the basis of their advice he makes a decision, of which he dictates the essence; the decision is read out (ἀνεγνώσθη), and a copy is preserved for the record. Compare also *P. S. I.*, 1100, line 2, Φαῦστος σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν συνεδρεόντων. In line 4 we cannot restore σκεψάμενος] because of its excessive length; but the word ζετέσα]ς would fit exactly. Transcribed into the Ionic alphabet, lines 4-5 might read Ἰοῦγκ[ος ζητήσα]ς μ[ετ]ὰ τῶν συνεδρεόντων[ν] | ἀνέγ[ν]ω [ἀπόφασιν].

Thus at Athens, Aemilius Juncus appears as a special Roman judge. In *I. G.*, II², 4210, he has the title of an imperial legate of some sort. At Sparta he is called δικαιοδότης which usually means *iuridicus*. A *legatus iuridicus* is out of place in a senatorial province, but the title in the Spartan inscription certainly suggests the activity of a special judge. Juncus exercises a greater jurisdiction over the two *civitates liberae* Athens and Sparta than a proconsul. Groag leaves the question open whether Aemilius Juncus was a *legatus Aug. pro. pr. prov. Achaiae* or a *legatus Aug. pro pr. ad corrigendum statum liberarum civitatum prov. Achaiae*. Perhaps that is all one can do, but the official's contemporaneity with the Council of the Five

Hundred inclines the reviewer toward the opinion that Juncus, who was consul as early as 127 A. D., held the appointment in Achaia after the consulship. From probabilities J. A. Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXVII (1946), pp. 53-56, argues plausibly that the Council of the Five Hundred, in Roman times, first appeared in 127/8 and that therefore the legate was of consular rank.

In his discussion of Paulinus (*Achaia*, I, coll. 84-86, and II, p. 7) Groag, who did not overlook A. Stein's article but to whose discussion L. L. Howe, *The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian* (Chicago, 1942), p. 91, had no access, defends successfully the view (combated by Howe) that Paulinus was a pretorian prefect, not a vice pretorian prefect. On the other hand, Groag did not consider the bearing of the predicate ἐξοχώτατος on the question of the date. Howe, denying that there was any support for the dating of the Spartan inscription *A. E.*, 1913, 244, to about the time of Caracalla, lays special emphasis on the predicate ἐξοχώτατος, which is not attested as early as the reign of Caracalla. Howe dates this inscription "probably in the second half of the third century." Fixed translations of the Latin predicates of rank were only gradually adopted in the East, but since the predicate *eminentissimus*, first attested under Marcus Aurelius, was regularly employed from about 205 A. D., the use of the predicate ἐξοχώτατος is no real argument against dating the correctorship attested by *A. E.*, 1913, 244, to the first third of the third century (so Groag with a question mark). In fact Groag's date still seems to me preferable.

The name of the procurator Quadratus cited in *Achaia*, I, col. 150, is now known to be Caelius Quadratus. He is mentioned in an inscription of which an enlarged text has been published by the reviewer, *The Sacred Gerusia* (= *Hesperia*, Supplement VI [1941]), No. 24.

To *Achaia*, I, footnote 713, add Antiochus Caes(aris) n. s. verna from *Hesperia*, X (1941), p. 244.

To the footnote of *Achaia*, I, col. 171 f.: The reviewer doubts that L. Statius Aquila, cos. suff. 116 A. D., was an Athenian. Rather, as Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 60 f., suggested, his son L. Statius Quadratus cos. 142 received the gift of Athenian citizenship after his consulship, and the family settled in Athens only at that time. There is no earlier trace of them at Athens.

Nor was the consular Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus, whose father bears no demotic in *I. G.*, II², 3695, necessarily a native Athenian. His family tree may be reconstructed as in Figure 2 on the following page. (Flavia Habroea's descent from the family of Hypata is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is indicated nevertheless by the names and by the Thessalian connections of her son.)

If the Democrates of *I. G.*, II², 11120 were a native Athenian (cf. *Achaia*, II, p. 12), there would be little point to the line [Δημοκρά]-την κατέχει Κέκροπος ἥδε κόνις. Rather the land of Cecrops, which becomes his final resting place, is contrasted with the land of his origin.

Eubiotus (of Hypata)
*S. I. G.*³, 822

T. Flavius Cyllus of Hypata, floruit 90-140 A. D.
 epimelete of the Amphictyonic League
 archon of the Attic Panhellenion
*S. I. G.*³, 822; *O. G. I.*, 504

T. Flavius Eubiotus of Hypata — Habroea
 high priest and agonothete of the divi Augusti *I. G.*, IX (2), 29 (cf. also 30, 32)
 agonothete of the Pythia
 epimelete of the Amphictyonic League
 Helladarch
I. G., IX (2), 44 (*S. E. G.*, III, 460)

Ulpus Leurus (of —) — Flavia Habroea (of Hypata)
I. G., II², 3695 *femina consularis*
 Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, p. 132

M. Ulpus Eubiotus Leurus, floruit 200-235 A. D.
consularis
 eponymous archon of Athens
 agonothete of the Panathenaea
 Athenian citizen of the deme Gargettus
 benefactor of the Thessalian League
 Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, pp. 125-142

M. Ulpus Flavius Tisamenus M. Ulpus Pupenius Maximus

Figure 2. The family of the consular Ulpus Eubiotus Leurus.

It has been argued that a new text, published during the war, concerned the governor Lucilius Priscillianus, but to the reviewer it seems to concern a Roman knight who was the father of the governor rather than the governor himself (*A. J. A.*, L [1946], p. 247).

Officials who because of wartime conditions were not recorded even in the addenda of *Achaia II* are: a *quaestor pro praetore* of the first century after Christ, C. Vettius Sabinus Granianus, in an Athenian inscription published by H. R. Immerwahr, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), p. 348; an imperial procurator of the Julio-Claudian Period, Q. Granus Q. f. Bassus, in a Corinthian inscription published by O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, X (1941), p. 388; an imperial procurator from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, C. Publicius C. f. Cam(ilia tribu) Proculeianus of Ravenna, in a Delphian inscription published by G. Daux, *B. C. H.*, LXIII (1939), pp. 179-181.

JAMES H. OLIVER.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Symbolae ad Jus et Historiam Antiquitatis Pertinentes Julio Christiano Van Oven Dedicatae. Edd. M. DAVID, B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, E. M. MEIJERS. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1946. Pp. viii + 410; 4 pls.; frontispiece.

Professor van Oven is the distinguished teacher of Roman law at Leyden. The editors, Professors David, Van Groningen, and Meijers (Meyers), do not follow the common practice of publishing a bibliography of the writings of the scholar honored. I have elsewhere found references to his text-book of Roman law—several times mentioned in this volume. This was published in 1945 and is evidently a substantial book, since it has 527 pages. There is also a briefer *Survey* now in its third edition, which was apparently intended as an introduction to his lectures; and a book or pamphlet on *Ancient Law in the Near East* (1939) [cited here, p. 61, n. 119]. Then there is what may be only a short paper on the importance of studying Roman legal history published in Zwolle in 1942. These writings are all in Dutch and no one of them was available to me even by way of inter-library loan. If we may infer that his publications are less numerous than is often the case with men in his position, we must equally infer that his chief accomplishment lies in the field of teaching. He may well derive satisfaction from a career that has inspired his pupils, friends, and associates to prepare in his honor a book containing so many valuable studies as this *Festschrift*.

Professor van Oven, like such Romanists as Cuq and Koschaker, included ancient Babylonia and Egypt among the communities with whose law he was conversant. The first paper is a fairly general study by A. de Buck of literature and politics in the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, that of the Amenemhets; and the following three are on special points of Babylonian law by van Proosdij, Leemans, and Böhl. All the other contributions are on Greek and Roman law with the exception of the last three which deal with the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Only three of the papers are in Dutch, but even these have an English summary at the end. The rest are in French or English, a fact for which most of us will be grateful even if those who know English and German might with an occasional glimpse into the dictionary, be able to follow the trend of a Dutch essay. Occasional lapses in English idiom, or the entertaining spelling of "by" as "bij"—an obvious interposition of the printer—, may well be ignored in the case of scholars who have put themselves to such pains in order to be understood by their foreign colleagues.

With the exception of Professor Fritz Schulz whose highly important *History of Roman Legal Science* was issued by the Oxford Press at just about the same time as this book was published, the contributors are Dutch, mostly, but not all, from Leyden. If only the names of Professors Fernand de Visscher and M. David were already familiar to me, that must be ascribed to the interruption which the Nazi *Umbruch* and the war have caused to communication between Romanists.

The general level of the papers is extremely high. This volume will be a reference book for the students of the administration of Ptolemaic Egypt in the second and first centuries, because of Pere-man's paper, "Sur la Titulature Antique en Égypte au II^e et I^{er}

Siècle avant J.-C.," pp. 129-159; and for the manuscripts of the *Collatio* which are described and discussed by Fritz Schulz (pp. 313-332). Three Greek Papyri are edited by A. Buriks, E. Visser, and A. Leeman-de Ridder and an important Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (II, 237), the edict of Valerius Eudaimon, is reedited and translated with Preisigke's corrections, together with an extended discussion, by A. Monkman (pp. 190-210).

Since a *Festschrift* is inevitably a miscellany, I shall confine myself to brief comments on a few of the papers, selected more or less arbitrarily because of personal interest in the points advanced.

Monkman's discussion of the edict of Valerius Eudaimon is principally concerned with refuting the thesis of Collinet that it gives us a clue to the origin of the *querela non numeratae pecuniae*. In that he seems to me to have succeeded, but it would hardly seem necessary to insist on a specialized or localized sense for περιγραφή or ραδιουργία. The former is the exact equivalent of *circumscriptio* and may be a translation of it. Nor is the Latin term by any means confined to overreaching minors (p. 204). In later Byzantine law, περιγραφή is the usual translation of *circumscriptio* in the Latin texts. (Cf. Bas., XI, 20 = D., 2, 14, 7 and 9; and Theophilus, I, 6, 3 [ed. Ferrini, p. 29], I, 8, 2 [ed. Ferrini, p. 37]). As for ραδιουργία, it seems to be meant with περιγραφή to cover every kind of fraudulent evasion short of direct forgery, but very near it. The term is used by Galen, 14, 27 for adulteration of drugs and by Irenaeus, *Patr. Graec.*, VII, col. 437A for distortion or falsification of sacred texts. Both Galen and Irenaeus were approximately contemporary with Valerius. I find myself much inclined to accept Monkman's suggestion (p. 207, n. 39)—although he withdraws it almost at once—that it is the equivalent of *stellionatus*, which was the subsidiary or reserve criminal charge when no other accusation would cover the case (D., 47, 20, 3, 1) just as *dolus* was, in the case of civil injuries. *Stellionatus* was frequently associated with forgery (cf. Pfaff's article, *s. v.*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* (1929), Second Ser. 3A, col. 2329) as ραδιουργία is in the edict. It would not require us to assume that Roman criminal law was applied. The need of such subsidiary accusations must have been felt in all systems. In that case we should be able to correct Pfaff's statement (*loc. cit.*, col. 2330): *Im griechischen Strafrecht findet sich nichts was dem Stellionatus an der Seite zu stellen wäre.*

The Basilica (60, 30) have as their version of *stellionatus*, ἀγωγή κατὰ περιέργων καὶ κατατρόπων and the Index Coislianus has in the margin, ἀγωγή κατὰ περιέργων καὶ ποιούντων ἐπιθέσεις ἤτοι στελλιονάτους. The text of the Basilica consistently uses περιέργα, and makes clear its connection with impostures which involve the presentation of spurious or counterfeit evidence, and which do not come quite clearly within either *dolus* or the *crimen falsi*. Ραδιουργία is combined with δόλος in Polybius, XII, 9, 5 and XIII, 6, 4 as it is in the Basilica passage. Περιέργα might, to the frivolous, appear as a contamination of the two words in the Edict, but it is good *koine* for "magical arts" in a distinctly pejorative sense. Cf. Acts, 19, 19.

Monkman is quite right in noting (p. 205, n. 35) that accusations are heaped up for the sake of completeness. It is an error to require of lawyers or administrators the precision of mathematicians. They are quite prone to sow their *termini technici* with the sack and not with the hand.

Another interesting paper is that of P. J. Verdam, "St. Paul et un Serf Fugitif" (pp. 211-230), which is a discussion on the point of law involved in Paul's Epistle to Philemon. As is well known, the slave of Philemon, Onesimus, is returned by the apostle to his master with this letter. There is nothing really strange in the fact that Paul returns the slave. Not to have done so would have been theft at Roman law—and Paul was a Roman citizen. It was probably theft at Athenian law or else a crime of its own as at Andania for which we have an inscription of 92 B. C. (*I. G.*, V, 1, 1390, 83) which imposes the penalty of twice the value of the slave on any man who receives or takes care of a fugitive.

The letter is, as has often been pointed out, something like a commentary on Paul's—and doubtless the early Christian—view of slavery, as expressed particularly in I Cor. 7, 21-22, which sets forth the doctrine that the status of freedom or slavery was irrelevant to a Christian. This was also the Stoic view, just as the famous passage of Galat. III, 28 is almost a verbatim transfer of Stoic doctrine.

The problem of the runaway slave was frequently in the mind of Greeks (Plato, *Prot.* 310 C; Xen., *Cyr.*, I, 4, 13; *Mem.*, II, 10, 1; Theophrastus, *Char.*, 18). The punishment was usually flogging or chains to prevent renewed flight. It was almost taken to be a duty so to punish him. Paul entreats forgiveness by Philemon, as Pliny does in the affecting letter to Sabinianus on behalf of the latter's freedman (*Ep.*, IX, 21, 24). The resemblance between the two was noticed long ago by Grotius (p. 212, n. 5), but it by no means follows that Philemon is based on the letter of Pliny.

Verdam refers (p. 228, n. 91) to Weiss' article on *Sklaven* in Pauly-Wissowa (1927), 3A, 1, but not to the much fuller article by Westermann in the Supplement on *Sklaverei* (cols. 893-1068). This has the dimensions of a treatise and is much the fullest and most recent treatment of the whole subject. A good deal can be found in the article *servi* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, by Victor Chapot. It is noteworthy that this excellent reference book is unduly neglected by non-French scholars.

The highly interesting discussion by David of the "Treaties between Rome and Carthage" (pp. 231-250) raises so many points which will help in understanding the development of the *ius gentium* that a full examination of them would exceed the compass of the article itself. I should like merely to point out that *commercium* (pp. 239-240) is not necessarily a technical term of law but means just what it seems to mean and may well be used to describe the passage quoted from Polybius (III, 24, 12-13). De Visser's analysis of noxality under the *lex Aquilia* (pp. 307-312) and Hermesdorf's examination of the *legis actio sacramento* (pp. 269-284) deserve careful study. Of particular interest to historians of the common law is the essay of E. M. Meyers on "La Réalité et La Personnalité dans le Droit du Nord de la France et dans le Droit Anglais" (pp. 379-400). It affords a valuable supplement to Pollock and Maitland's account of the development of the common law of property, and confirms the fact, so often ignored, that the common law is the custom of Normandy, developed and expanded by Norman administrators in England (p. 395). It might interest readers of Professor Meyer's article to note that the terms "reality" and "personality" in the sense which, as he correctly shows, was developed in

the feudal France of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, still give the fundamental—and legally important—division of property throughout Canada, the United States, Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia, countries beyond the imagination of the feudal seigneurs who established the distinction.

I have a special interest in J. M. Polak's admirable essay on "The Roman Conception of the Inviolability of the House" (pp. 251-268) by reason of a brief discussion of the point in an article on the famous doctrine that an Englishman's house is his castle (*Law: A Century of Progress*, II, pp. 423 ff.), an article which Mr. Polak does me the honor to cite at several points. The Roman law is here fully and accurately presented. I may suggest for *obvolutio* (p. 258) my article in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. The famous *quaestio lance et licio* which, of course, qualifies the inviolability of the house, certainly has a religious and sacral basis despite the objections of Weiss which Polak properly rejects (p. 254, n. 18). The whole procedure may be Greek. Cf. the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 489, and Plato's *Laws*, XII, 7, 954A. The scholiast gives the same rationalizing explanation of the searcher's nakedness that we find in Gaius, III, 193, for the *lanx*, but in Plato, the searcher must swear by the *νόμμοι θεοί* that he has reasonable ground for believing the stolen article to be present. These *νόμμοι θεοί* can hardly be other than the gods whom the violation of the house would have offended. Isaeus, VI, 42, *De Philoctemi Her.*, speaks of a *νόμος* for house-searching, which may be no more than the *ἔθος* of the scholiast.

The Roman law on the subject and its qualification in practice are given in the book of F. G. Struve, *Pax Domestica* (1713, pp. 5-12, 33-56). Osenbrüggen's study, *Der Hausfrieden*, was unavailable to me. It seems to have discussed the later German practice rather than the Roman law.

We may wish the eminent scholar whose name is attached to these studies many more years of fruitful research. The *Symbolae* might serve to strengthen among scholars of all sorts the sense of the need of international coöperation.

MAX RADIN.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

RUDI THOMSEN. The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion. Copenhagen, Glydendalske Boghandel, 1947. Pp. 339; 7 pls.; map; 6 pp. Danish résumé. (*Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes*, IV.)

The invitation to prepare a notice of this stately volume was both gratifying and embarrassing: for it recalled to mind a shrewd saying, that, in order satisfactorily to review a scientific publication, the reviewer should know either far more or far less than his author. There need, however, have been no illusions as to which horn of the dilemma has here been grasped: for Dr. Thomsen's theme, as conceived and "monographically" interpreted by him, is fresh territory, and has been exploited by him with all that perfection of philological and historical method which the scholarly world is accustomed to expect and to find in the products of Nordic colleagues.

Such a book is destined to be used as a tool rather than read as literature; notwithstanding, both Dr. Thomsen and his English-speaking counsellors deserve grateful recognition for the care devoted to assuring a readable presentation of the subject-matter; even though among the cultured public devoted to this general field of history there may be some readers who are still under the spell of the sonorous cadences of Edward Gibbon and the easy yet dignified flow of Thomas Hodgkin: a distinguished tradition of literary historical prose. In the delicate matter of adjectival usage, not all will feel that the best results have been uniformly attained; at the beginning of the title, in fact, we ourselves should have preferred to see the expression "The Regions of Italy."

The division of the Italian mainland, for administrative purposes, into eleven regions (Sicily and Sardinia being constituted as provinces) formed an important element in Augustus' reorganisation of the Roman world. Its essential features are embodied, in varying degrees and fashions, in four remarkable documents: Strabo, V and VI; Pomponius Mela, II, 58-72; Pliny, *N. H.*, III, 38-138; and Ptolemy, III, i. The reliability of the respective text traditions—which as a general question might properly have received fuller treatment in the book—is not weakened but on the contrary strengthened by the multitude of place-names and indications of distance or relative position which must have puzzled many a mediaeval scribe; for it is a recognized psychological principle that such words stimulate and focus the attention of the copyist, thus to some extent safeguarding the text tradition. Even when the scribe was forced to despair of understanding the words before him, and simply to copy mechanically an obscure or defective reading, he would do so to the best of his ability without succumbing to the temptation so frequent in the tradition of literary authors—in the interest of what is known as a "readable text" (!)—to emend according to his lights. Hence—apart from a certain inevitable amount of corruption in the tradition of Ptolemy, where the Greek copyists had their own difficulties, and of fundamental, deeply-rooted inaccuracy in the same geographer's topographical data—, a considerable degree of confidence may be accorded these lists of place-names with distances, in the form in which they have been transmitted. The question, however, of the manner in which these lists were compiled, and their relation to the official tables prepared by Augustus and Agrippa, is engrossing and not altogether simple: the original lists of names appear to have been distinct from the regional divisions (it is thus that Pliny, *N. H.*, III, 46: *auctorem nos divum Augustum secuturos, discriptionemque ab eo factam*, is here interpreted); and then the use of a *periplus* in conjunction with the alphabetical lists of towns and tribes largely in the interior frequently resulted in an arrangement the reason for which must be sought in order that it may be fully understood. And on occasion the Augustan boundaries appear to fade and to make way for other groupings, some of them due to physical and social conditions, others suggestive of early tribal organisations; whereas again, many secondary boundaries are intelligible in the light of ecclesiastical and modern usage. Thus the chronological limitations embodied in the title should not be allowed to obscure the existence

of a vaster background of economically and socially ordered relations within this historic land, upon which the Augustan regions were imposed.

In the subsequent periods, other documents become available, notably the hitherto puzzling *Liber Coloniarum*, which now appears in a fresh light. *Pari passu* with the progressive encroachments of the central imperial administration, the privileged position of Italy changed to a status indistinguishable from that of the provinces, with which it was in fact eventually equated in nomenclature. Finally, in A. D. 568 and the following years, the Lombard invasion brought a millennial cycle of administration and culture to an end.

The first part of the volume, "The Augustan Regions," comprises three chapters devoted respectively to the Augustan Town-Lists according to Pliny; Ptolemy and the Italic Tribes; and Pliny's Regional Description and the Extent of the Individual Regions. The second part, covering the post-Augustan Administrative Districts, likewise has three chapters: The Period up to Italy's Final Provincialization; The Italic Provinces according to Inscriptions, Imperial Constitutions, Provincial Lists, etc.; The *Liber Coloniarum* and the Italic Provinces. The "Final Conclusion" puts in their proper setting the "*iuridicus* districts" introduced under Marcus Aurelius, the *urbica dioecesis*—with which question is involved the significance of the hundred-mile area about the Capital—, and the *dioecesis Italiciana* of Diocletian; and it closes with the following words:

... Augustus's regional frontiers coincided with so distinct (*sic!*) natural division lines that many of them remained political frontiers even after the Lombard invasion.

The boundaries fixed by Augustus mainly separated old Italic tribal territories. Thus the Italic tribes have put their stamp on the map of Italy for several centuries after they had lost their political importance, and accordingly the division into districts of ancient Italy represents a continuity not only through nearly six hundred, but through more than one thousand years. Actually that continuity is not yet extinct; this very day the frontiers of the ecclesiastical as well as of the political districts of Italy in many cases follow the division lines fixed by Augustus.

Regarding the related matter of the smaller administrative units and their boundaries, with the methods available for tracing these, mention may now be added of Dottoressa Luisa Banti's recent monographs on Luni (Florence, Istituto di Studi Etruschi, 1937), Pisae (*Memorie* of the Pontifical Roman Academy of Archaeology, VI, iv, 1943), and Perugia (*Studi Etruschi*, X [1936], pp. 97-127).

Many of these place-names of Italy are fraught with historical, literary, and cultural associations; some of them assumed a sudden and tragic import during the military operations of so short a time ago. The value of the present publication to all scholars concerned with ancient and also later Italy—and who is not?—will be clear. Here only a few of the offshoots from the general theme may be chosen for special notice. Pp. 120-3: The Younger Pliny's (*Ep.*, III, 4, 2; IV, 1, 3 f.; 6, 1; V, 6, 1 f., 45; 18, 2; IX, 15, 1; 36, 1; 40, 1) consistent mention of his villa near Tifernum Tiberinum as *Tusci* leads to the conclusion that it was only for its lower reaches that the

Tiber served as a regional boundary; in its upper course, the territory of certain towns extended across the full width of the valley; and ethnically Umbrian Tifernum, being one of these, was included not in Region VI but in VII. Pp. 151 f.: The country about Rome eventually received the name *Campagna* because of the spread of the term *Campania*, at the expense of *Latium*, to include the northern as well as the southern part of Region I; a somewhat similar destiny was in store for *Calabria*, which designation was transferred *in toto* from one side to the other of the peninsula.

P. 23: More attention, and perhaps a slightly different interpretation, might have been given to a secondary matter, showing the reverse process to that which we have observed in the case of Tifernum Tiberinum, and to the Elder Pliny's inclusion of Eburum, a town situated to the north of the river Silarus, normally the boundary between Reg. I, *Latium et Campania*, and Reg. III, *Lucania et Bruttii*, in the latter region: Pliny's account of the Salerno area started under difficulty owing to the circumstance that the *periplus* marked the division line,—quite properly from the navigator's angle,—at the *Promunturium Minervae*; and he was led to include in the territory of Salernum the sanctuary of Argive Juno, which is now known from excavations to have lain on the Lucanian side of the Silarus (see Jean Bérard, *Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist.*, LVII [1940], pp. 7-31). The shrine lay within the boundaries of Posidonia, the colonists of which city imposed their sanctuary upon a primitive, indigenous cult center. But by Pliny's time, Paestum had sunk into insignificance and Salernum apparently was flourishing. There is a tendency for the strong to absorb the possessions of the weak. However, by the years A. D. 323-6 Salernum itself belonged to *Lucania et Bruttii* (pp. 203 f.).

Some will lay down this book with a strengthened respect for the achievement of the Elder Pliny, for it is no small matter to have transmitted to posterity the fullest account of Augustan Italy. Many who in their younger years adopted toward the old Admiral a patronizing or condescending attitude have ended by feeling genuine respect for his contribution to knowledge, and, in view of the law of nature that for every result there must be a corresponding cause, have been inclined to follow his nephew's judgment in attributing to him not only *instantia*, *vigilantia*, and *incredibile studium*, but *acre ingenium* as well. However that may be, the sympathetic figure of the stout-hearted servant of the Emperor and the State, who sacrificed his life in the interests of his friends and of science, will always be associated in honorable fashion with the administrative system which has been so well illumined by Dr. Thomsen.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

CARLO ANTI. *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*. Padua, "Le Tre Venezie," 1947. Cinque ricostruzioni di I. Gismondi. Pp. 337; 81 figs.; 8 pls. 3000 Lire.

This book deals with theaters in the Greek sense, the room for the gathering of people for seeing (*θεᾶσθαι, θέατρον*) any kind of performance, be this religious, agonistic, political, or dramatic; thus with what the Romans and we, laying more emphasis on hearing (*audire*) than seeing, call auditoria. The main thesis of Anti is that Dörpfeld and all scholars following him are wrong when they believe that the Greek auditorium and the Greek orchestra, the area for dancing (*ὀρχεῖσθαι*), were originally round. He asserts that the oldest theaters and all orchestras before the fourth century B. C. were either square or trapezoidal, and that there is a continuous tradition from the theatrical areas of Phaistos and Knossos (pp. 27 ff., Pl. I) with their straight steps for the audience to the archaic and early classical theaters of Athens (pp. 55 ff., Pl. II) and Syracuse (pp. 85 ff., Pls. III-IV, VII). Anti and Gismondi reconstruct also the Lenaion theater, in which comedy was originally performed and in which most of the plays of Aristophanes were given, as a square area with only one grandstand (*ἵκρια*) for about 2000 persons (pp. 202 ff., Pl. V). One of the most interesting parts of his book is the chapter in which he shows how the situation of the Lenaion near the sanctuary of Dionysus in the marshes (*λίμναι*) on the slope of the Pnyx agrees with many allusions to the surroundings in most of the plays of Aristophanes (pp. 219 ff.). The *Frogs* for example are those which live in the marshes of the Sanctuary of Dionysus in Limnai.

Another interesting chapter is the one in which Anti shows that the model for the classical paraskenion theater was the palace of the tyrants of the VIth century, like those of the Peisistratides in Athens or the Kypselides of Corinth, who still lived in their anaktoron in the period when the drama took shape. Unfortunately their residences are not preserved. But we know the anaktoron of Larissa on the Hermos, recently excavated and reconstructed by K. Schefold and Mayer Plath (pp. 259 ff., Fig. 67 and Pl. VI). It was built about 570-550 and has the form of the old oriental hilani, that is a broad house with a porticus in front between two towerlike side buildings. The center decorated by a colonnade could represent a temple or it could represent a palace or a house flanked by two more modest ones. For the *Frogs*, for example, the center could represent the palace of Pluto, the side buildings the house of Herakles and the house of the innkeeper. This practical form was built in stone in the time of Euripides, and it agrees with such pictures as the crater in Paris with the representation of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and the Tarantine fragments in Würzburg (pp. 264-5, Figs. 68-69).

The reviewer agrees with most of the theories of Anti. The tradition of the Cretan-Mycenean auditorium adds one more proof to the fact that many elements of the pre-Greek civilization have come down in direct tradition to the Greeks and have helped to build up the archaic and classical civilization. The assumption that the auditorium in Athens was still straight in the fifth century is borne out by the fact that the water channel in the east was in a straight line,

which when continued and paralleled on the west side with a similar line gives a trapezoidal form to the border line between the auditorium and the orchestra. There are, furthermore, straight stones, later used to cover this channel, with inscriptions showing them to be for a proedrie. When the proedrie in stone was straight, it is certain that the wooden seats were also straight, as it is more difficult to build rounded grandstands in wood than one rounded row of seats in stone. That the Greek theater building of the Hellenistic period had some relation to the old Oriental hilani house I have already asserted in my *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, quoted by Anti (p. 282). If indeed the paraskenion theater of the classical time was derived from the same form, then there is a welcome connection and continuity also between the classical and Hellenistic scene building.

There are, however, some points in which I disagree with Anti. He dates the rounded orchestra too late, in my opinion. The sustaining wall of the orchestra terrace in Athens forms even in the sixth century the segment of a large circle (Pl. II), and although we do not believe any longer with Dörpfeld that this was the orchestra itself but that the dancing area was smaller inside this terrace, the form is such a clear suggestion for a full circle that I do not think the Athenians waited until the time of Lyeurgus to adopt it for the whole area. I do not see why it should be easier to arrange a round chorus in a square place than to arrange a square chorus in a round place (see p. 41). Madame Sikilianos certainly arranged beautiful square schemes when she produced the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus in the year 1930 in the round orchestra of Delphi. There is no reason to assume that the younger Polycleitus was the first to build a round orchestra in Epidaurus in about 360 B. C. and that Athens imitated it 20 to 30 years later.

On the other hand I believe that Anti dates the stone skene too early. Only the breccia foundations of the scene building in Athens were probably laid in the time of Euripides. On them was built a wooden temporary scaffolding with painted screens. There was not yet a stereotyped tragedy and comedy in the later fifth century. Aristophanes, who performed at least his fantastic plays *Clouds*, *Peace*, and *Birds* in the theater of Dionysus Eleuthereus, needed very different backgrounds for these comedies. Not before the followers of Euripides had given a stereotyped form to tragedy was the stone scene building erected, in the time of Alexander the Great. I refuse to believe with Anti that scene painting, invented by Agatharchus for Sophocles and the old Aeschylus, was already discarded in the time of Euripides to be replaced by a permanent stone background (p. 303). I believe that the painted screens were not discarded before the period of the Romans whose taste is reflected in Vitruvius' story (VII, 5, 5) of the mathematician Lycimnius: when he criticized the scenery painted by Apaturius as untrue, it was removed. The large canvasses were later replaced, in the east, by smaller paintings between the proskenion columns and inside the large thyromata, but in Athens not before the late Hellenistic period.

The book thus is full of interesting and challenging observations, and the main thesis is convincing and fruitful.

Small corrections for the bibliographies on pp. 82, 106, 139, 215, 282: All proper names and adjectives derived from them are capitalized in English, thus Greek, Aeschylean, Athenian, Argive, American, Roman. The first word of a title is capitalized in German and in English, thus: *Das griechische Theater in Syrakus. Athenische Mitteilungen. Antike Rathäuser. A topographical Dictionary.*

MARGARETE BIEBER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Observations on ch. VII: "Theatral Structures of the Athenian Agora" and ch. IX: "Origin of the Skene with Paraskenia."

In chapter VII Anti deals with two theatral establishments that have been intimately associated with the Agora of Athens: the Orchestra and an Odeion, distinct, according to Anti, from the Odeia of Pericles and of Herodes. His eventual conclusion is that neither Orchestra nor Odeion lay within the market square proper but that both are to be sought alongside the road that led from the southwest corner of the square around the west end of the Areopagus. The Odeion, therefore, according to Anti, is not to be identified with the covered theatre of the Augustan period brought to light by the American excavations in the middle of the square; of the real "Odeion of the Agora" he believes, indeed, that no remains exist. As a site for the Orchestra he would suggest tentatively an enclosure to the south of the Tholos hitherto designated on plans of the Agora simply as a building of the Greek period.

It should be pointed out, in the first place, that the area to the southwest of the Agora proper and to the west of the Areopagus has now been almost completely explored, yet no trace of an odeion has appeared nor is it likely that any such could longer escape detection in this region.

The author's choice of site for the Orchestra is no happier, for the enclosure to the south of the Tholos proves to contain a series of rooms around a small courtyard and could not possibly have served the purposes of the Orchestra.

Anti, in fact, is tilting at windmills. There need no longer be any doubt that the building of which ample remains have been found in the middle of the square is the "Odeion of the Agora," i. e., the Odeion mentioned by Pausanias (I, 8, 6), and there is good reason to believe that the Orchestra had been an open area near the middle of the square, part of which was probably overlaid by the Odeion in the time of Augustus (*Hesperia*, XVI [1947], pp. 200 ff.). The placing of the Odeion may, indeed, have been suggested by the memory of the existence of the old Orchestra at this spot.

The secure identification of these two monuments depends on the proper interpretation of Pausanias' account of his passage through the Agora. Such an interpretation is now possible, thanks to the evidence provided by the current excavations part of which was not yet available at the time of Anti's writing, part of which was dis-

regarded by Anti. (See the restored plan of the Agora in *Hesperia*, XVI [1947], pl. 49.)

The cardinal error in Anti's routeing of Pausanias lies in his belief that the periegete, after viewing the Tholos, left the square proper and followed the road around the west end of the Areopagus; whereas it is now abundantly clear that Pausanias, having completed his review of the buildings of the west side of the square from north to south, turned round and started north again, mentioning in succession the Eponymous Heroes, a series of outstanding statues (Amphiaraus, Eirene and Ploutos, Lycourgos, Kallias, Demosthenes), the temple of Ares and several statues in its neighbourhood. Then he swung south once more to note the Tyrannicides, to look into the Odeion, to pause by the Enneakrounos and the temples of the Eleusinian divinities above it. Soon thereafter he found himself at the Temple of Hephaistos, i. e., the so-called Theseum, on the top of Kolonos Agoraios and from there descended by the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania to the northwest corner of the square once more. After covering the Stoa Poikile, which undoubtedly closed part of the north side of the square, he would seem to have resumed his progress on the Panathenaic Way, leaving the square at its southeast corner. He could scarcely have covered the site in a more logical way.

A key point in fixing the above itinerary is the altar of the Twelve Gods. The placing of the altar at a point near the northwest corner of the square was made probable by the discovery *in situ* in 1934 of a dedication to the Twelve Gods by Leagros (*Hesperia*, IV [1935], pp. 355 ff.), and was put beyond shadow of doubt when in 1946 fragments of an archaic altar of poros were found within the enclosure alongside which Leagros had placed his dedication (*Hesperia*, XVI [1947], pp. 198 f.). Thus we have two securely fixed points: the Tholos to the south, the altar to the north.

The identification of the Temple of Ares may now also be taken as securely established, inasmuch as Pausanias (I, 8, 4) mentions in the neighbourhood of that temple the statue of Demosthenes which by Plutarch in his *Life of Demosthenes* (*Vit. X Orat.*, p. 847 A) is placed by reference to the altar of the Twelve Gods.

Between his mention of the Temple of Ares and of the Odeion, Pausanias noted the statues of the Tyrannicides, and in fact the current excavations have brought to light a fragment of the inscribed base of one of the two groups of statues between the buildings now labelled on Agora plans as the Temple of Ares and the Odeion (*Hesperia*, VI [1937], p. 352). It would, therefore, be flying in the face of all probability to doubt that the roofed theatre found in the middle of the square is other than the Odeion mentioned by Pausanias.

The statues of the Tyrannicides, which are known from the lexicographers to have stood by the Orchestra, are placed by Arrian (*Anabasis*, III, 1, 6, 8) "opposite the Metroon where we go up to the Acropolis." The place of finding of the inscribed fragment of the base, as also the Odeion, lie midway between the Metroon and the Panathenaic Way, the shortest route from Agora to Acropolis. Once more, therefore, the unprejudiced observer will scarcely doubt that the Orchestra lay in the area later occupied by the Odeion.

In chapter IX Anti includes among the progenitors of the skene with paraskenia the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora. In this connection he proposes a radical alteration in the restoration of the building; the fronts of the projecting wings, he suggests, were closed by walls, leaving an open colonnade only in the mid part of the front of the building (Fig. 73). There are, however, serious objections to such a restoration, only one of which need be mentioned here. The plan of the building in its actual state (*Hesperia*, VI [1937], pls. I and II) shows that in the course of centuries the space between the wings in front of the central part of the façade was completely filled with large monuments which must have rendered access to the building through the central colonnade both difficult and undignified. The space in front of the wings, on the other hand, was kept scrupulously clear of monuments, a fact which can be explained best on the assumption that the fronts of these wings were open colonnades.

HOMER A. THOMPSON.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON.

J. SVENNUNG. *Compositiones Lucenses. Studien zum Inhalt, zur Textkritik und Sprache.* Uppsala, Lundequistska Bokhandeln; Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz, 1941. Pp. x + 204. 6 Kr. (*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1941, No. 5.)

How long will Scandinavian scholars continue to write in German? Scholarship, it is said, overleaps tribe and nation; if so, a man's mother tongue is good enough; or, if he wants a wider public, then a language which has a poor claim to international use is not. No scholar is likely to resort to that final weakness of the fainthearted, a manufactured language. And there is always Latin itself.

This protest made—not for the first time—I turn to Svennung's workmanlike monograph. Svennung is a specialist in Latin writers on technical subjects. The fragmentary collection of recipes and rules contained in *Cod. Lucensis 490* (written ca. 800), fols. 217-231, to which Svennung adds a brief hitherto unidentified fragment on fol. 211v., is concerned chiefly with metal-working, dyeing, mineralogy, mosaics, and the like. It is, as Svennung says, without parallel in the older Latin authors, with the exception of items in *H. N.* (but a verb has dropped out of Svennung's German after Plinius, p. 1). There is in this monograph, besides the text of the new fragment (with translation—into German, as if scholars knew no Latin—and critical commentary), first the routine discussion of content and subject matter, date and provenance of the manuscript (the evidence is not really strong enough for North Italy, p. 16); an enquiry into sources (ultimately Greek, p. 10, but who taught the Greeks?); an enumeration of a few Keltic and Germanic words that have got into the text (how?); a description of the scripts, style (especially the blundering rubrics)—the entire manuscript appears to be the product of a sort of composite copy-book; of the state of the text,

and of its relationship to later compilations; and finally an account of previous editions and discussions. Then follow (ch. 3, pp. 29-99) "Bemerkungen zum Inhalt" and "Textkritik."

But the most valuable, and by far the most interesting chapters (4 and 5, pp. 100-174, 175-184) are those devoted to a thorough-going consideration of the linguistic peculiarities of this late Latin text and to the etymology of *mosaic*. Here again Svennung is an expert, who knows what he is talking about. It is the merit of the book to demonstrate once more—what ought not to be and would not be necessary, if "scholarship" did not lure so many incompetent botchers beneath its cotton-wool protection from a cold and hard world—that the prime (and final) requirement of a would-be editor, first, last, and all the time, is a complete and accurate knowledge of the language of his text and of the history of it at the date at which the text was compiled. Again and again there are forms here which ninety-nine editors out of a hundred would gaily "emend." Take *si rada uenerint* (p. 112) which appears in the "Mappae clauicula" text with *rara*. But *rada* (Svennung, p. 112) is right; Ital. *rado*, Sp. *rado*, *ralo* from L. *rarus*. Svennung calls this dissimilation (cf. Ital. *porfido*, *porfiro*). He is partly right. Svennung wrote in *Eranos*, XXXIII, p. 24, an account of *r* from *d*, and to Leumann's discussion of *crudus* (: *cruor*), which he cites, he should add Mezger's *K. Z.*, LXII, p. 22. But there is no dissimilation in *caduceus* from *καρύκειον*, or in Neapolitan *pere* "pedem," or, I warrant, Neap. *rurece* "duodecim." The alternation of *r*: *d*, and also *l*: *d*, is something that needs still further investigation, despite the attention already devoted to it, e. g., by Brück, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, LV (1935), pp. 125-154, by Rohlf, *Germ.-Rom. Monatsschr.*, XVIII (1930), pp. 41-48, and by Bottiglioni, *Third Internat. Congr. of Phonetic Sciences*, 1938 [1939], pp. 288-289. The change appears to operate both ways, and while it is prominent in South Italian and Sicilian dialects, a related process there (Bov., Otr. *ἀῤῥο ἄλλος*) is comparable to the Umbr. *ḍ* from intervocalic *r*, Vedic *ḷ* from *d*, possibly even to *O. L. r* from *d* before *u* and *f*. The fundamental problem concerns the substitution of liquids for a voiced dental or post-dental stop or spirant and the reverse.

This example must suffice to show the importance of Svennung's work, which is, in short, something that no student of late Latin can afford to neglect. His explanation of *mosaic* is a gem. The word started (like *nymphaeum*) as *musaeum*, a natural grotto, the haunt of the muses. Next an artificial grotto took this name; then the multicolored decoration that ornaments—or disfigures—such places; and finally, as a technical term, *opus musium* (later *mosaicum*) emerges. The guess of Gauckler (Daremberg-Saglio), Hebr. *maskith* (an Arabic word is propounded in Wachsmuth's *Lexikon der Baukunst*) was a mare's nest; like *Macedon* and *Monmouth* nothing more to it than the unprofitable fact that they all begin with *m* (so does mare's nest).

On vocalic assimilation (p. 106) cf. Bassett's Harvard dissertation (*H. S. C. P.*, LIII [1942], pp. 171-174). In *fumice*, *ibid.*, where Svennung quotes Logudor. *pedra fumiga*, popular etymology (*fumus*) may have been at work. The change *ur* to *gr* (p. 108) has a Celtic

(Brythonic) flavor; Welsh has *gwr-* from Indo-European *ur-*, but in spoken Welsh the *w* is apt to disappear (Pedersen-Lewis, *Concise Comparative Grammar*, p. 11). On p. 110 Svennung (quoting Sommer, p. 258) gives *susu* "schon 180 n. Chr.," but Sommer himself quotes *susouorsum* and *controuosias* from the Sent. Minuc. of 117 B. C. Hellenistic Greek *-is*, *-u* for *-ios*, *-iov* (p. 124) is, *pace* Svennung, inexplicable as a Greek change. Insomuch as it turns up in borrowed words (cf. Mod. *σπίτι*[*v*] i. e. *hospitium*) and in proper names, *Ἀνρῆλις* (four times in *I. G.*, XII, according to *T. L. L.*, II, 1482, 63), *Ἰανναρίας*, one suspects that it is a dialectal (Oscan) or rustic Latin pronunciation that invaded the Greek of Magna Graecia and then spread into Hellenistic Greek at large. A really noteworthy form (p. 147) is *suventium* (from *subinde*), Fr. *souvente*, Ital. *sovente*.

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

FRITZ WEHRLI. *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar.* Basel, Benno Schwabe & Co. Heft I: *Dikaiarchos*, 1944. Pp. 80. Heft II: *Aristoxenos*, 1945. Pp. 88.

These are the first two fascicles of a series in which Professor Wehrli intends to collect and to publish with accompanying commentary the remains of the Peripatetic writings of the 4th, 3rd, and 2nd centuries B. C., the works of Aristotle himself and of Theophrastus not included. By "the remains of the Peripatetic writings" is apparently meant the fragmentary remains in the strictest sense, since in the fascicle devoted to Aristoxenus Wehrli does not print the extensive *Harmonica* or the *Rhythmic Fragments* but for these refers the reader to the publications of Marquard, Westphal, and Ruelle.¹ Furthermore Wehrli avowedly restricts his collection to passages that are guaranteed by explicit citation,² a properly conservative procedure to employ but one which might have been supplemented to the great advantage of further research by the addition of a list of those passages which, though not thus guaranteed, have nevertheless been ascribed by different scholars to the Peripatetic in question. It is still possible to make up this deficiency by compiling such lists for all the Peripatetics in an appendix to the series; and it is to be hoped that Wehrli will consider some such means of increasing the utility of his collection, just as it is to be hoped that he will repair the lack of the *index locorum* that might reasonably be expected in each fascicle, since each is represented as an independent publication,

¹ It is remarkable that Wehrli does not mention in this connection the later edition, translation, and commentary of the *Harmonics* by H. S. Macran (Oxford, 1902) or the book by C. F. A. Williams, *The Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm* (Cambridge, 1911).

² Some exceptions to this rule are allowed. For example, he prints as frag. 30 of Aristoxenus the story told of Archytas in Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythag.*, 197, in this agreeing with Wyttenbach as had Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, p. 276.

by a general *index locorum* and possibly an index of special terms or topics for the whole series.

The two fascicles already published contain fewer than a dozen fragments, more than half of which are mutilated sentences from the papyri of Herculaneum,³ that had not already been collected by Müller in volume II of his *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Those fragments which Müller printed or to which he referred, however, Wehrli in many cases prints at greater length; and this is an improvement, even if at times Wehrli may be mistaken in claiming for Dicaearchus or Aristoxenus as much of the context of these passages as he does.⁴ His arrangement of the fragments is quite different from Müller's. Many of the fragments of Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus cannot with any degree of certainty be assigned to a definite writing; and Wehrli, frankly recognizing this, often employs a general rubric under which are grouped fragments that may have come from several different works of a similar nature. So in the case of Dicaearchus, for example, he does not presume to assign each biographical fragment to a separate "life" but collects them without distinction under the heading, "Ueber Lebensformen, Biographien," although he inclines to the belief that there were independent monographs on Pythagoras, the Seven Sages, Plato, and Socrates. He argues convincingly (I, pp. 75 f.) against the existence of an independent work, *καταμετρήσεις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὁρῶν* (cf. Suidas, s. v. *Δικαίαρχος*); and in the case of Aristoxenus, although he collects under the rubric, "Seelenlehre," the references to Aristoxenus' remarks on the soul, he properly points out (II, pp. 84 f.) that there is no necessity for assuming that there was a separate book on this subject, since what evidence there is indicates rather that the comparison of soul with tone as the function of the lyre occurred in other, e. g. pedagogical, contexts.⁵

³ In Heft I: *Dikaiarchos*, p. 50 Wehrli properly rejects Mekler's arbitrary "restoration" in *Acad. Philos. Index Hercul.*, p. 22, col. V: [καθὰ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῇ βίῳ φιλοσόφων α̅ and with it the "evidence" for a "Life of Aristotle" by Dicaearchus.

⁴ For example, of Diogenes Laertius, III, 4 Wehrli prints καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ οὐ καὶ μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς as part of the fragment of Dicaearchus (frag. 40 = 24, Müller) and states (I, p. 54) that "Die Zusammengehörigkeit der bei Diogenes Laert. fr. 40 durch andere Zitate getrennten Stellen wird durch den Parallelbericht bei Apuleius *De Platone* I 2 bewiesen." If true, this would mean that Dicaearchus knew the *Anterastae* and took it to be authentic. The clause, οὐ καὶ μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς, however, is not represented in Apuleius' version, the intermediate remarks concerning the origin of the name, Plato, which Diogenes Laertius ascribes to Alexander being absent also, and so probably does not come from Dicaearchus.

⁵ Wehrli takes *Schol. Platon. Phaedo* 108 D (... ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀκροάσεως ...) as evidence of a separate work of Aristoxenus entitled *Μουσικὴ Ἀκρόασις*, "eine für den Schulgebrauch bestimmte Schrift, die von *Περὶ μουσικῆς* zu unterscheiden ist" (II, p. 77 on frag. 90). Müller (frag. 77) also assumed that the reference is to a separate work, but he entitled it *περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀκροάσεως*, which is strictly what the scholium says and which would have to mean not "Musical Lecture" but "On Listening to Music." The scholiast's phrase is highly suspicious, however; cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 340 on Stobaeus, *Eccl.*, I, 23, 1, ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως: "περὶ ante φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως otiosum

Such matters as the arrangement and ascription of the fragments are defended in the commentary which accounts for more than half of each fascicle and in which are discussed the implications of the fragments, the probable nature and scope of the works from which they were drawn or to which they refer, and the light which they cast upon the attitude and activity of Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus. This commentary is intelligently and soberly written and displays a healthy freedom from that tendency to which so many modern interpreters of ancient fragments are disposed, the tendency to erect for their authors extensive systems upon a few broken foundations filled out by elaborate but precarious hypotheses. The two fascicles under review are an auspicious beginning of a collection which will be of great service to scholarship and which all scholars of Greek and Roman thought will hope to see completed without undue delay.⁶

HAROLD CHERNISS.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON.

Corpus Hermeticum, Traités I-XVIII. Texte établi par A. D. NOCK; traduit par A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1945. Pp. liv + 405.

Admired by Lactantius as well as by Julianus the Apostate, the revelations and doctrines ascribed to Hermes Thrice-Great have found, at long last, a perfect editor and an admirable translator. The *Hermetica* were edited twenty years ago, with English translation and copious notes, by the late W. Scott. Unfortunately, he profoundly altered the transmitted text, trying to improve upon it for the sake of common sense. But this rare commodity is conspicuously absent in the work of ancient theosophists. Our manuscripts of eighteen Greek treatises go back, as common *lacunae* show, to a Byzantine archetype, and the critical comparison of principal copies makes it possible to give a reliable text of the Hermetic corpus. A. D. Nock has established the text and furnished the introduction dealing with the textual criticism. He, too, prefaced the discourse *Asclepius*, a Latin translation of a lost Hermetic work. A.-J. Festugière gives us a French translation of the *Hermetica*, with notes and analyses which facilitate the understanding of this pagan theology. It is needless to say that the common work is marked by that comprehensive and yet neat and well ordered learning with which the names of Nock and Festugière are associated. Festugière even succeeds in making these rather abstruse writings

inferioris aetatis scriptori condonabis." It should be observed that in the text of the most recent edition of the scholium (*Scholia Platonica* . . . edidit W. C. Greene, American Philological Association, Haverford, 1938) there is no trace of *ἐν τῷ* before *περί*. Certainly this is tenuous evidence for a "Lehrschrift" distinct from *Περὶ μουσικῆς*.

⁶I have observed scarcely any misprints that need cause a reader trouble. In fascicle I, p. 46, line 18 the reference 477 B 27 should be 407 B 27; and in fascicle II, p. 75, line 5 from the bottom of the page "Apelt" is presumably a *lapsus calami* for "Abert."

readable in French. It would be impertinent for one who is only a casual reader of *Hermetica* to plunge into discussion of the variants chosen by Nock throughout some twenty years of work. A cursory comparison of some portions of the text with the apparatus criticus has convinced me of the soundness of his critical judgment. But, as John Chrysostom says somewhere, *τελείου τὸ μὴ νομίζειν ἑαυτὸν τέλειον εἶναι*. In reading the new edition I became sometimes suspicious that the editor has not been, perhaps, sufficiently discriminat-ing in regard to Christian interpolations. Since the Church Fathers and Byzantine scholars praised Trismegistus as precursor of the Christian doctrine, they could hardly fail to enrich his discourses with corrections consonant with the dogmas of faith. I quote but one passage (I, 6, p. 8), where my attention was arrested by a grammatical error: *λόγος Κυρίου*. In correct Greek, such as used by the Hermetic author (the so-called "Poimandres"), the article is wanted in the quoted clause. For brevity's sake, I now reproduce the text, marking Christian interpolations: *τὸ φῶς ἐκείνο, ἔφη, ἐγὼ Νοῦς, ὁ σὸς θεός, ὁ πρὸ φύσεως ὑγρᾶς τῆς ἐκ σκοτόντος φανείσης· ὁ δὲ ἐκ Νοὸς φωτεινὸς λόγος [νιδς θεοῦ]—τί οὖν; φημί.—Οὕτω γινώθι· τὸ ἐν σοὶ βλέπον καὶ ἀκούον λόγος [Κυρίου, ὁ δὲ Νοῦς πατήρ θεός], οὐ γὰρ δίστανται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ἔνωσις γὰρ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ ζωή*. The elimination of this interpolation is of importance since that is the sole passage, I suppose, in the Greek pagan works, where the barbarism of the LXX translators, to wit the title *Κύριος* used without the article as a personal name, has been found. Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (1935), p. 11.

ELIAS J. BICKERMAN.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

N. P. TOLL. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work, 1935-1936, Part II: The Necropolis*. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford Univ. Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 150; 52 figs.; 65 pls. \$5.00.

The important excavations at Dura-Europos, the royal Seleucid colony, continue to be promptly published. This is the ninth volume since the excavation started in 1928. It is the second part of the report, the first part of which was reviewed in *A. J. P.*, LXVI (1945), pp. 430-433. It includes only the Necropolis and not the Palace of the Dux, as was previously announced. There is no index, no list of figures, which have no captions and are often printed far from the place of their description (for example, no. 3, p. 45 is figured on p. 107; no. 5, p. 45 on p. 108). Many of the plates (XXVI-XXXIII, LXII-LXV, etc.) lack any caption. Most have only the tomb number and not the number of the object illustrated. The chapters are labelled Introduction, Description of Tombs and Finds, Analytical Inventory, Chronology, Tower Tombs.

To the study of burial customs (300 B. C. to 256 A. D.) the book makes a real contribution. Single burials are common not only in the Necropolis but in the city. Cremation of the dead was little known

and probably came with the Roman legions. Only three jars containing cremated bones were found in all the excavated area. The predominant type of burial monument was the catacomb. Mr. Toll makes nine groups and on page 23 gives a table with relative chronology. The small subterranean chamber with *klinai* along its three walls, a type known in Phoenicia and Palestine as early as 1000 B. C., was adopted at Dura, perhaps because it was the nearest parallel to the Macedonian *kline* tomb. By 200 B. C. it was transformed into a *loculus* tomb.

The Macedonian and Olynthian influence is strong, as I pointed out in my previous review mentioned above. The high temperature and the rain water penetrating through the dromos have been unfavorable to the preservation of skeletons and furniture. As at Olynthus, the skeletons had often disappeared or the bones turned to dust. The wood of the coffins had become a dark brown powder. Textiles had completely disappeared, bronze and silver had deteriorated through oxidation. It is possible, however, to say that the corpse was generally surrounded with objects of everyday life, as at Olynthus and elsewhere. Storage jars for water were placed in the corner of the central chamber to hold lustral water for purification of the soul, as at Olynthus. Green-glazed ware was predominant. In two cases glass and pottery were purposely broken. Delicate gold leaves forming a sort of burial crown were abundant. It is too bad that the burial customs of Dura have not been more compared with those of Olynthus and other places, and that the skeletons were not studied by an anthropologist. Compare such a study as Prof. Nock has made in his brilliant and scholarly review or article in *Classical Weekly*, XXXVII (1943), pp. 64-66 of *Excavations at Olynthus*, XI, *Necrolynthia, a Study of Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology*. Compare pp. 17, 119-120, 201-202 and also *Olynthus* X, no. 505 with many parallels and references, literary and archaeological, for such wreaths. The best wreath at Olynthus has gilded bronze leaves and not pure gold.

It is strange that silver coins were found near the pelvis, "probably placed in a purse attached to a vanished belt," and that the money provided for the last journey "was already out of use." At Olynthus, (cf. vol. XI, pp. 203-206) current coins were often found in the mouth. This was a common Greek custom, evidently not followed at Dura. Bronze bells, iron finger-rings, spatulae, fibulae, earrings, bracelets, etc. were found just as at Olynthus. The absence of lamps and of objects of religious significance is a great contrast to the abundance of terra cotta figurines at Olynthus. The absence of bronze strigils is perhaps due to Phoenician or Asia Minor customs. It reflects the non-athletic character of Durians as compared with Olynthians, Corinthians, and other Greeks. At Olynthus a strigil, which had an even deeper meaning than a wreath, was generally placed over the breast or pelvis. Fifty-nine strigils were found in fifty burials, four sometimes in one grave (cf. *Olynthus*, XI, pp. 202-203; add to the references there a lecythus by the Vouni painter in New York: Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases* [1946], fig. 83). The absence of inscriptions, names, and dates is characteristic of Olynthus as well as of Dura. Perhaps there were wooden markers which have disap-

peared as seems to be the case at Olynthus. The finding of stamped amphora handles is interesting. On plate XLII, I seem to see more than the mask of Silenus. It certainly is not an eagle and fish. It resembles seated Sileni or Satyrs at Olynthus. I can see the face, body, arms, and two legs of such a seated Satyr (cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 39-40, especially no. 328. In *Hesperia*, III [1934], p. 299 such an oval stamp has a standing satyr playing a double flute).

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

N. BØGHOLM. *The Layamon Texts: A Linguistical Investigation.* Copenhagen, Einar Munksgaard, 1944. Pp. 85. (*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague*, III.)

For texts which, like Layamon's *Brut*, were edited a considerable time ago, a modern linguistic interpretation is clearly in order. Sir Frederick Madden's great edition of both the Layamon manuscripts (MSS Cotton Caligula A IX and Cotton Otho C XIII), which appeared in 1847, has not been superseded by the new edition promised at one time by Kölbing, nor has Madden's full introduction in which are treated the basic textual and linguistic problems been displaced by any single modern work.

Professor Niels Bøgholm of the University of Copenhagen, the author of a number of studies on the English language, has endeavored to provide the badly needed modern commentary on the language as well as a short discussion, introductory in nature, on the relation of Layamon to Wace. His book falls into the following chapters: "Wace" (pp. 6-8), "The Layamon Chronology" (p. 9), "The Layamon Translation" (pp. 10-16), "Layamon's Vocabulary" (pp. 17-24), "Sounds and Orthography" (pp. 25-37), and "Grammar" (pp. 38-85). The book has neither a bibliography nor documentary footnotes, a fact that somewhat impairs its usefulness.

The first three chapters—"Wace," "The Layamon Chronology," and "The Layamon Translation"—set forth the standard inferences as to the lives and works of Wace and Layamon. But nowhere does Bøgholm make any allusion to the widely accepted current theory about the relationship of Layamon's work to *Le Roman de Brut*. This theory, advanced by Rudolf Imelmann in 1906 and supported by J. D. Bruce and others, maintains that the bulk of Layamon's additions to and deviations from Wace's story are due to the English poet's having translated an expanded version of Wace no longer known to exist. That is, it is no longer held, with Madden (Vol. I, p. xvi), that Layamon spun out his "additions" from his knowledge of "Welsh traditions not recorded in Geoffrey and Wace." Entirely ignoring this development, Bøgholm appears to assume that Layamon worked directly with the earlier and less corrupted Wace available to us in the editions of Le Roux de Lincy and Arnold.

The discussion of French and Scandinavian loan words in "Layamon's Vocabulary" goes beyond the remarks on this subject to be found in Adolf Luhmann's "Die Überlieferung von Layamons *Brut*,"

(*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, XXII [1906]) chiefly because Luhmann treated only one text whereas Bøgholm treats both. The material in this chapter could have been considerably expanded and enlivened had the author drawn upon the valuable work of Henry Cecil Wyld, "Studies in the Diction of Layamon's *Brut*," (*Language*, VI [1930], pp. 1-24; IX [1933], pp. 47-71, 171-91; and X [1934], pp. 149-201) wherein the vocabulary of text A (MS Cotton Caligula A IX) is compared to that of text B (MS Cotton Otho C XIII) and, further, Layamon's use of synonyms in the service of poetic expression is explored.

In "Sounds and Orthography," Bøgholm comments on the orthographical uncertainty of the Layamon texts, as did Madden (Vol. I, p. xxxii), and on nunation or the intrusion of final inorganic *n*. Following Luhmann's study, which in this respect is the more elaborate of the two, he discusses the influence of Anglo-Norman on English spelling. Certain of the remarks on phonology are weakened by a failure to decide what sound-value or sound-values are to be given different vowels, such as *a*, *æ*, and *e*, used in variant spellings. In general, the aim of the phonological discussion appears to be descriptive rather than analytical. That is, the writer at no point summarizes the phonological features which bear on the dialect or date of the texts. It is true that, at the close of this chapter (p. 37), he states rather abruptly that "the dialect of the poem is South-eastern, as maintained by Luhmann . . ." "South-eastern" here is probably a slip of the pen for "South-western," because Luhmann distinctly assigns the A text to the South-west in the passage of his work (note 1, pp. 9-11) cited by Bøgholm.

It is disappointing that Bøgholm does not take cognizance of a most interesting paper by Professor Gustaf Stern of the University of Göteborg, Sweden. In his "Old English \bar{a} in the Earlier Text of Layamon" (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, XLVII [1941], No. 24), appearing three years before the publication of Bøgholm's book, Stern casts doubt on the frequently expressed opinion that Layamon's dialect is Southern, in which view he was preceded by Mary Serjeantson and one or two others. Stern considers the dialect to be Mercian on the basis of a statistical study of the rendering of OE \bar{a}^1 (i-umlaut of WGmc *ai*) and of OE \bar{a}^2 (WGmc *ā*). His principal argument arises out of the fact that many OE \bar{a}^2 words are spelled with the characteristic Midland *e*. A critical examination of Stern's argument would have been highly appropriate in Bøgholm's treatise.

The long chapter "Grammar" contains many illuminating observations grouped under the following heads: Cases, Pronouns, Possessives, Adjectives, Adverbs, Grammatical Number, Conjunctions, Prepositions, Articles, Verbs, and Sentence Construction. The writer is especially interested in noting the variations between the two texts, such as the substitution of the indicative in B for the subjunctive in the older A text and the shift of verbs from the strong to the weak conjugations. He is also interested in semasiology, pointing out that there are in Layamon earlier occurrences of words in certain senses (for example, special meanings of *shall* and *will*) than may be found in the *NED*.

The almost complete absence of documentation in this book is a source of some difficulty, as is the failure to explain the abbreviations and other conventions that are used throughout. One learns by trial and error that the line references to Wace are taken from the Arnold edition through line 9000 and thereafter from the old Le Roux de Lincy edition before he discovers an obscure acknowledgment of that fact on the last page. The significance of superscript 2 after many words and line numbers is left to the reader to determine. One gathers that superscript 2 is used when the forms assumed by a particular word in both text A and text B illustrate the point the writer wishes to make. The abbreviation AR appears to refer to the *Ancren Riwele*. Minor errors that may be worth pointing out are the omission of two lines from a passage quoted from Wace (p. 7) and the reading "Alfred" (p. 12) where "Arthur" is almost certainly intended.

It is clear that Professor Bøgholm does not utilize all the best and most recent scholarly opinion. Nevertheless, his readable description of Layamon's grammatical usage must be regarded as a contribution.

ROBERT W. ACKERMAN.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

LOUIS CHATELAIN. *Le Maroc des Romains. Étude sur les centres antiques de la Maurétanie occidentale*. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1944. Pp. viii + 317. (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. 160.)

M. Chatelain intended his work to present both a general study of the history and culture of Roman Morocco and a résumé of the additions to our knowledge since the works of Tissot and Besnier on the topography and archaeology of the towns and posts of this remote western Roman province. The difficulties of our time have compelled him to postpone the printing of the first part, and, though the second justifies its appearance by reason of the information it includes, full and convenient use must wait for completion of the author's *Inscriptions latines du Maroc* and his *Atlas archéologique du Maroc*.

In the first section of the present work the *Antonine Itinerary* is used as a guide in summarizing our present information regarding sites, plans, monuments, and the smaller objects found in the forts, agricultural centers, and towns, with the exception of Volubilis. What emerges is an impression of the rather limited area of Roman occupation as shown by fragments of the Limes below Sala, the slow progress of exploration in Spanish Morocco, and the slightness in general of the remains, even where, as at Banasa since Thouvenot's publication and at Sala, they provide good indications of the progress that was achieved by military settlement and agricultural exploitation. The larger and necessarily more important section brings together the results of many years of excavation and study by the author at Volubilis, which is at once the Timgad and the Chercchel

of the western region. Here the inscriptions, town plan, monuments, and smaller objects together clearly present a well-known pattern: the assimilation with local mutations of the pervasive political and commercial and cultural forms of the Graeco-Roman world to the conditions of the country. Here the value of this work lies in the information it brings together from a large and scattered and often inaccessible group of smaller publications. But it is no longer complete, as M. Picard's recent notes in the *Revue Archéologique* (1947) on some new pieces of great interest clearly reveal; and the archaeological material in it would be more usable if it were accompanied by the 64 plates listed at the end and referred to in the text.

The author is inclined to place Colonia Iulia Campestris Babba at the probable site of Oppidum Novum (p. 111), the one an Augustan colony and the other a veteran settlement of Claudius, but besides the absence of the name and the disagreement in the distance from Lixus as given by Pliny it is to be noted that the author reports no coins of Babba from the site (on these, see Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 222). In general, he reports discoveries of coins too summarily (see pp. 76, 101), when such analyses as that supplied by Thouvenot in his monograph on Banasa (Paris, 1941) would be very helpful. Discussion of the Augustan colonization in Morocco must now take account of the views to which Grant (*op. cit.*, pp. 174-178) has been led by his study of the coinages: Tingis became a Roman municipium in 38 under the patronage of Boecchus III; Lixus probably received the same status then or at the time of the colonial settlements in Mauretania Caesariensis; and the colony of Babba should be dated to 33-32 B. C. (p. 222). This date would determine that of Banasa also. In the famous inscription of M. Valerius Severus of Volubilis the author has rightly preserved the reading *incolas* and rightly associates the imposts from which Claudius granted the Volubilitani immunity for ten years with the *onera remissa* mentioned in a contemporary inscription. To the reviewer Tiberius' grant to the cities of Asia (Tac., *Ann.*, II, 47) appears similar both in phrasing (*remisit*) and in motive.

The proof-reading is not always carefully done and other mistakes occur. Read *Chorographia* for *Chronographia* on p. 34, note 1; and von Rohden's fame rests rather on his share in the first edition of *P. I. R.* than his direction of Pauly-Wissowa (p. 183). A full and useful bibliography concludes a book which, though incomplete, deserves the thanks of students of the Roman period in Africa.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

S. A. HANDFORD. *The Latin Subjunctive, Its Usage and Development from Plautus to Tacitus.* London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1946. Pp. 184.

The history of the Latin subjunctive presents problems of a morphological and of a syntactical nature: on the one hand several types of primitive Indo-European modal forms have amalgamated

into the system of Latin forms known as subjunctive, and on the other the subjunctive mood, originally having functions more or less easily traceable to notions of will and potentiality, has increased its sphere of usage in subordinate clauses to such an extent as partly to crowd out the indicative from expressions of actual fact. The systematic treatment of these extensions of usage in Part II is a particularly important feature of the book under consideration, but actually the whole work has value as a careful analysis of one phase of Latin syntax. The plan is historical in the sense that the main basis of classification rests on independent uses of the subjunctive from which the various dependent uses are presumably derived, but the wealth of examples, together with the index of subject-matter, make the book suitable for reference purposes in so far as actual usage of the subjunctive is concerned. If the attention devoted to authors of the Augustan Age and the Silver Age is small by comparison with the abundant citations from authors of the Republic, it must be remembered that the greatest extension of subjunctive usages lay between the Plautine and Ciceronian periods. By the end of the Republic the subjunctive was already obligatory for consecutive clauses, indirect questions, and some other constructions which originally permitted the indicative; while the new subjunctive usages which appeared between Cicero and Tacitus (with *dum*, *quamquam*, iterative *cum*, etc.) are less significant, though important enough to win some notice.

The first chapter contains a brief discussion of the origin of the Latin subjunctive forms and a somewhat more extended treatment of the conflicting views of scholars as to the original functions of the IE subjunctive and optative. The author makes the correct observation (§ 6) that no exceptionally close association exists between optative meanings and those Latin subjunctives which are derived from optative forms. Thus he frees himself of the necessity of solving the problem of wherein the IE subjunctive and optative differed, and leaves the way open for distinction of the various subjunctive tenses on the basis of aspect and more especially of tense-sequence. In the last paragraph he expresses the belief that the Latin subjunctive started with a more or less composite set of meanings, but he does not at this point say what these meanings were; rather they are reserved for separate discussion in the body of the work. Since, however, the notions of will, futurity, wish, and potentiality are taken as fundamental uses of the Latin subjunctive in the body of the work, the author may be said to follow substantially the views of Delbrück, who assigned the first two of the above functions to the IE subjunctive and the last two to the optative.

The second chapter, dealing with parataxis and hypotaxis, shows borderline cases reflecting the intermediate stage in the transition from the former to the latter and lists the marks by which fully developed hypotaxis may be recognized. The examples arranged in parallel columns in §§ 14-15 foreshadow the method used throughout much of the book, whereby examples of independent usages are followed by closely related subordinate types derived from them (§§ 76, 87, 89, 90, 93, etc.).

On the subjunctive of will in general little need be said; as might

be expected, the hortatory, jussive, and other similar types, as well as many derived subordinate types, are included under it. From subjunctives of obligation cast in interrogative form in response to commands the "repudiating question" is derived, with a coloring of surprise or indignation. Handford has an exceptional interest in this type and, in fact, states plainly (§ 74) that it deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. He makes it the starting-point for several subordinate types, including subjunctive after negative expressions of possibility, propriety, and doubt, and in exclamations after *quasi* (§ 152), where he makes a good case for derivation from the repudiating question by calling attention to the regular use of present or perfect rather than imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. §§ 95 and 111 present a certain type of question illustrated by the example *ut quisquam istuc credat tibi?*, "do you expect anyone to believe that?" where the potential idea is as strong as the jussive idea. Actually the above example could be traced to either source and suggests, I believe, that volitive and potential subjunctives, originally quite distinct in value, have so enlarged their sphere of usage that both have developed a repudiating type of question, according as the speaker expresses impatience that another person should expect something to be so, or incredulity that it possibly could be so. If potential subjunctives, then, are one source of repudiating questions, and if these are the source of a moderately large number of subordinate subjunctive uses, the potential subjunctive may have had a greater part in the development of subordinate clauses than the present work allows it.

Reference has already been made to Part II, dealing with the intrusion of the subjunctive into expressions of actual fact, where the indicative has been partly crowded out of use and where the specifically modal character of the subjunctive has been weakened or lost. The types concerned include consecutive clauses, indirect questions, certain *qui-* and *cum*-clauses, and also subjunctives resulting from attraction, together with the closely related subjunctives in subordinate clauses of indirect statements. Most of these types can be explained on the general principle that the subjunctive is extended from situations where it has modal force (clauses of willed result, deliberative subjunctive in indirect questions, natural attraction where the subordinate clause is an integral part of the superior clause, etc.) to situations in clauses of the same class where it has no modal force.

The foregoing remarks have been intended to summarize briefly the plan of Handford's book and the method by which he explains the development of the great variety of Latin subjunctive constructions from a few fundamental usages. A few matters of terminology and classification may raise objections in the minds of some readers. In § 27 and often subsequently (§§ 36, 48, 49, etc.) the term *perfective* is applied to that use of the perfect tense which signifies an achieved result, in contrast to *aoristic*, used of simple occurrences of action without regard to progress, repetition, or resulting state. This conflicts with the usual sense of the term *perfective*, as in connection with the Slavic aspects, where its sense is substantially the same as that of *aoristic* (or *punctual*), and cannot be justified by its association with *perfect* since the Latin perfect indicative has the aoristic sense fully as often as the other sense: *I did* is fully as common a

meaning as *I have done*, if not more so. The term *resultative* might perhaps be clearer than *perfective*. Between the *ut*-clauses after expressions of necessity, propriety, etc., represented in §§ 59 and 66, there is scarcely any real difference; they only emphasize the close connection between jussives and subjunctives of obligation. In § 45 the example Plaut. Rud. 1367, with *ne duis*, should probably be classed with the (4) *ne faxis* type rather than with the (5) *ne facias* type, unless the absence of aoristic *s* is considered more significant than the optative *ī*. In § 134 *adeas* in Plaut. Poen. 330 is wrongly cited as an imperative. The bibliography fails to include Tenney Frank's *Attraction of Mood in Early Latin*, although the work is cited on p. 148 and elsewhere. But these defects are not serious enough to impair the real value of the book. There are many works dealing with the Latin subjunctive, but some treat only the early period, some treat only certain constructions, and others include the subjunctive as only one phase of the whole of Latin syntax. I know of no other work specifically devoted to the Latin subjunctive in all its uses, with a chronological range of more than three centuries and with such a great variety of examples.

JAMES W. POULTNEY.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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DUMONT. 251 pages, paper, \$3.00.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS · BALTIMORE 18

